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INTRODUCTION

While organizing the Research and Post-graduate Department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Dr. A. B. Dhruva, President of the Society and Honorary Director of the Department, made provision for inviting eminent University professors and research scholars to deliver courses of lectures on their special subjects. It was also provided, wherever feasible, to publish these lectures.

Under the scheme we have great pleasure in publishing these lectures by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji which were delivered by him at the Premabhai Hall before our Research and Post-graduate Department, from the 18th to the 24th of October 1940, under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, the Vice-President of the Society.

This publication is made with the hope that it will meet the needs of students of Indian Philology in our Universities as well as persons interested in the origin and development of the languages of our country.

We are thankful to Dr. Chatterji for giving us the benefit of his great learning and scholarship and for making this publication possible.

[illegible]

RASIKLAL C. PARIKH,
Superintendent,
Research & Post-graduate Department,
Gujarat Vernacular Society.

Bhadra, Ahmedabad
12th January 1942.

FOREWORD

In October 1940 at the invitation of the Research and Post-Graduate Department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad two courses each of four lectures were delivered by me on the Evolution of the Aryan Speech in India and on Hindi as the 'National Language' of India. The present work is based on the above lectures, revised and enlarged.

The first series of lectures, on the Evolution of Indo-Aryan, is a development or continuation of my views on the history of the Aryan speech in India as put forward in my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* published in 1926. In the second series, I have sought to indicate the importance and significance of the Hindi speech in the life of present-day India and I have tried to formulate the case for a Simplified Hindi, going mainly to Sanskrit for its culture-words and written in an 'Indo-Roman' script, as the most natural and inevitable thing. In the lectures on Indo-Aryan, I have to express my indebtedness to *L'Indo-Aryen* of Professor Jules Bloch of Paris, my esteemed *guru* in Indian Linguistics, for some ideas and suggestions, apart from other works. I have incorporated in the section on Hindi three papers I contributed on the subject of a National Language for India in the Calcutta daily the *Hindusthan Standard* (October 11, and November 7 and 21, 1937). In studying the evolution of the Hindi (Hindustani or Hindusthani) speech as a 'colonial development' [illegible] of a North Indian group of dialects, the suggestion of Professor Jules Bloch in his *Forlong Lectures* for 1929 ('Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Vol. V, Part IV, 1930, p. 730) has been very helpful in pointing the way for the enquiry.

I shall be very happy if these lectures are of help to students and at the same time succeed in interesting a wider lay public.

For enabling me to write the present work, I have in the first instance to thank the Research and Post-Graduate Department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society for their kind invitation, without which I would never have felt the impulse for it. I take this opportunity to thank the authorities of Society for their very kind hospitality extended to me and my wife during our week's stay at Ahmedabad, 18th October to 24th October 1940. I feel particularly grateful to the Secretary and Staff of the Society—to Professor Rasiklal Chhotalal Parikh, to Muni Sri Jinavijayaji our very kind host, to Professors Umasankar Joshi and Kesavram Kasiram Bamhaniya Sastri, and to Mr. Mohanlal Ranchhodlal Shah the accountant of the Society—who did so much to make our stay pleasant and profitable. Nor should I omit to mention the many kindnesses we received from other Ahmedabad friends—Lady Vidyagauri R. Nilkanth the President of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Mr. Gatulal Dhruva, Pandit Karunasankarji Bhatt, Mr. and Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai, and Sir Girijaprasad Chinubhai Madholal, Bart. and his family, and Mr. Chaitanyaprasad Diwan; and from Mr. and Mrs. Sailes Chandra Bose, and Pandit Satindra Chandra Bhattacharya of the local Sanskrit College. The Hon'ble Mr. Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar, B.A., LL.B., Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Bombay, honoured me by presiding over all my lectures; and Ac[illegible]rya A[illegible]andsankar B. Dhruva, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt., Honor[illegible]irector of the Gujarat Vernacular Society Research and [illegible]duate Department, formerly Pro-Vice-Chancellor an[illegible]of the Hindu University of Benares, received [illegible]d evinced his keen interest in the subje[illegible]a gurj[illegible]our. [illegible]

In order to enable the [illegible]be printed under my direct supervision, the Gujarat Vernacular Society kindly arranged for its printing in Calcutta, and the Sri-Bharati Press under the management of Mr. Satis Chandra Seal, the Secretary of the Indian Research Institute, has done its work efficiently, considering that work with a lot of capped and dotted types is always at a disadvantage in any press. In the matter of transliteration of some Indian and other names in the body of

the book, I ask for a little indulgence: owing to an inadvertence the same word has sometimes been printed in slightly different forms—e.g. 'Moslem', 'Muslim'; 'Hyderabad-Deccan' and 'Haidarābād-Dakan'; 'Mahārāshṭra', 'Mahārāṣṭra'. But I trust it will be looked upon as immaterial. When words have been quoted in Italics as non-European words in transcription, proper care has been taken in enforcing a rigid and systematic transliteration. My friend and colleague in the University, Prof. Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, has put me under a great obligation by going through the final proofs all through. I am also obliged to my colleagues in the Persian and Arabic Department of the University, Maulana Fazlur-Rahman Baqi Ghazipuri, and Dr. M. Ishaq, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (London) and Prof. Mirza Mohsen Namazi, for helping me to put the dedicatory lines in stately Classical Arabic and in elegant Modern Persian respectively.

"SUDHARMA",
16 Hindusthan Park,
(Rasbihari Avenue),
Calcutta,
1st January 1942.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

ōṁ namaś śivāya : ōṁ nama umāyai.
ōṁ namō viṣṇavē : ōṁ namaś śriyai.
ōṁ namō brahmaṇē : ōṁ namas sarasvatyai.

namō ṛṣibhyaḥ :
namō jinēbhyaḥ : namō buddhēbhyaḥ.
nama ācāryēbhyaḥ :
namas siddhēbhyaḥ : namō bhaktēbhyaḥ.

prajñā mātā parama-pitaraṁ sēvatē vāṅmayī yā,
saiṣêhāsīd ṛṣi-nara-surair arcitā dēva-bhāṣā :
ārya-kṣētrē nikhila-manuja-śrēyasāṁ dhāma-bhūtā,
sā nō dēvī nayana-patha-gā syād vidhātrī su-nētrī ||1||

āryā vāṇī sura-sarid iyaṁ saṁskṛtā 'lakṣya-mūlā
jambu-dvīpē kavi-muni-budha-jñāna-dīptyā lasantī :
pāly-ārṣadyāḥ prakṛti-kalitā rūpa-bhēdāḥ purā'syā
haindavy-ādyā navatama-girō bhāratī-hṛt-prakāśāḥ ||2||

lāṭānarta-surāṣṭra-mārava-mayī śrī-gurjaratrā sadā
prācīnā bhuvi bhāratē ca jayatād vidyā-yaśas-sampadā :
yasyāṁ saṁskṛtir ārya-jāti-janitā brāhmaṇya-jaināśritā
kāṣṭhāṁ śaurya-yutāṁ parām alabhata jñāna-kriyôdbhāsitā. ||3||

bhadrāśā-nagaraṁ yad ahmada-nṛpasyāsīt pratīcyām purī,
tatrāstē pariṣac ca gurjara-giras samyak prakarṣāvahā :
yattō bhārata-saṁskṛtēḥ prasaratīhālōcanaṁ nūtanaṁ,
vaidagdhyaṁ tv anuśīlanañ ca viduṣāṁ saukhyāya yasyās sadā ||4||

kṛtir yā gaṅgāyā jala-nidhi-mukhē prācya-viṣayē
janān gauḍān vaṅgān akṛta ca nijāṅkē prathita-bhūḥ :
abhūd vidyā-gēhaṁ hari-hara-jinānāṁ su-kṛpayā,
kalāṁ jñānañ cāsau pravitarati kṛṣṭiṣv api purā ||5||

yad riktham dharma-mūlam kavi-manana-mayam
bhāratīyair navīnais
samprāptam pūrvajēbhyō vilasatu suciram tac catur-varga-
-dātṛ :
kṣēmō yaś cāsya yōgō nanu bhavatu-tarām tat pitṝṇām
garīyaḥ :
tac-chuddhy-artham sadā syuḥ praṇihita-manasaḥ samyutā
lāṭa-gauḍāḥ ||6||

ahmat-purī-pariṣadā suguṇāḍhyayā 'yam
āmantritas sadasi gauḍa-bhuvas sunītiḥ,
prābhāṣata svaka-vicāra-vimarṣa-jātam
bhāṣāśritam paṭhana-cintana-mūlam alpam ||7||

bhāṣêtihāsam vyākhyātum yatnavān asmi sāmpratam,
pravartitañ ca dēśē 'smin yathā-śakti yathā-mati ||8||
pramōdāya tattva-vidām viduṣām sudhiyām tathā,
chātrāṇāñca prabōdhāya kṛtam vyākhyānakam tv idam ||9||
kaśyapānvaya-jātēna kālīkṣētra-nivāsinā,
śrī-sunīti-kumārēṇa haridāsa-tanū-bhuvā ||10||
prīyatām bhāratī dēvī prajñā-bhūtā sanātanī :
granthō'yam sumanas-tulyaś śraddhayā 'syai samarpyatē
||11||

vidadhatu jana-kāmyām bhārat[illegible]m bhāratīyām
svajana-milana-sūtram bhāratīyās sva-dēśē :
nikhila-manuja-cittam dyōtayantī [illegible]kāmam,
jayati jayati nityam dēva-bhāṣ[illegible]

parama-civan'-aruḷ-āl
en' maṭamai
en'n'ai-viṭṭu akalaṭṭu[illegible]
ar'am-um poruḷ-um in'pam-um vīṭu-v-um
kaṭakkaṭṭum.

bilādu-l-hindi l äðihī-
-l-watʷanu-nā-l-maḥbūbu-l-waḥīdu,
wa γayru qābilatin li-t-taqsīm^{i}:
g'a'ala-hā-llāhu-l-xallāqu-l-'alīmu-r-raḥīm^{u},
aḥsana wa 'a'qala wa 'a'ðʷama,
wa 'a'tʷā-hā kulla na'īm^{in}:
wa g'a'ala-hā hudān li-sā'iri-l-'aqālīm^{i};
wa wahaba li-watʷani-nā-l-qadīm^{i}
šarafa-t-tahðībi-l-g'adīdi li-dīni-l-'islāmi-l-qawīm

wa fataḥa 'alā 'alsināti-nā-l-hindīya^{ti}
'al-'abwāba
ðaxīrati-l-wāfirati li-l-kalimāti-l-'arabīya^{ti}
wa xazīnati-l-alfāðʷi-l-'ag'amīya^{ti}.

haðā-l-kitābu-l-ḥaqīru muqaddamun
li-tamg'īdi-l-'ilmi
min musʷannifihī
-r-rašīdi sunītīyi -l-kāšyabi
min bang'āla^{ti}.

īn nāmä-e-nācīz-rā
bā kamāl-e-eḥtarām
ba-pīšgāh-e-gerāmī farzandān-e-mīhan-parast-e-hendūstān
taqdīm mī-namāyam —
ke az zamān-e-bāstān vaḥdat-va-tamāmīyat-e-kešvar-rā ḥefz kardä
barāy-e-pīšraft-e-tahzīb-va-tamaddon-va-'olūm-va-fonūn-va-falsafä-va-taṣavvof-va-alsenä-e-pīšīn-va-navīn-e-ān kešvar,

xedamāt-e-šāyān-va-barjistä,
nesbat ba-mādar-e-delfarūz-e-vaṭan
ānjām dādä and.

negārendä
sunītī kumār cāturjyā bangālī.

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A NOTE ON THE TRANSLITERATION

For Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and other Indian languages, the usual system of Romanisation is followed (the Geneva System, with slight modifications). An asterisk [*] before a word or sentence indicates a hypothetical or reconstructed form.

r̥, *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥* are syllabic or vocalic liquids and nasals of Indo-European (*r̥*, *l̥* = Sanskrit ऋ, ऌ). Thus, French *chambre* = [š ã b r̥], English *nation* = [neišn̥], *sudden* = [sʌdn̥], *bottle* = [bɔtl̥], *bottom* = [bɔtm̥].

ṛ, *ḷ* = Hindi ड़ and Indo-Aryan (Vedic) cerebral *ḷ* respectively.

k̂, *k̂h*, *ĝ*, *ĝh* are Indo-European *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh* sounds which became altered to the palatal spirants *ś* (=Sanskrit श), *śh* (= ष), *ź* (= voiced form of ś = श), *źh* (= the aspirated form of the preceding). (*ź* resembles *ž*, for which see below).

qh, *g*, *gh* are guttural sounds of Primitive Indo-European, pronounced deep down in the throat, probably in the uvular region.

q, *qʷh*, *gʷ*, *gʷh* are the above sounds pronounced with rounded lips, giving them a *w* or *u* quality.

k'h, *g'*, *g'h* are pure palatal stops = the most ancient values of Sanskrit च, छ, ज, झ respectively (without any accompanying spirant element as in the modern pronunciation of च, ज etc. as in Hindi and West Bengali).

ɟ (=an inverted f) is used in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association for the voiced palatal stops = *g'* as above. (In Classical i.e. Old Arabic the pronunciation of ج was this pure palatal stop *g'* or ɟ. It is used for the common Indian ज also.)

śh, *ź*, *źh*: see above, under *k̂*, *k̂h*, *ĝ*, *ĝh*.

š, ž are sounds of English *sh* as in *shun* [=šʌn] and of English *s* (=*zh*) as in *pleasure* [=pležar]: these respectively are the sounds of Persian ش and ژ.

ẓ=the voiced form of the Sanskrit ष=*ṣ* : found in Tamil, as in the word *Tamiẓ* (=Tamil) itself.

χ, γ are velar spirants, unvoiced and voiced =Persian and Arabic خ and غ respectively.

x is used as an equivalent or alternative form of χ = voiceless velar spirant. Normally this sound is transcribed as *kh* (e.g. Perso-Arabic *xabar* or χ*abr* 'news' = *khabar*, Persian *rēχta* or *rēxta* = *rēkhta* 'scattered', etc.).

θ, ð are interdental spirants, voiced and unvoiced, respectively like the *th* in English *thin* [θin] and *then*[ðen]: the Arabic ث and ذ respectively.

ϕ β are bilabial spirants, unvoiced and voiced, ϕ is the usual Indian substitute for the denti-labial [f]=ف, and β is the common Modern Indian pronunciation of the Sanskrit व. In Bengal, the voiced labial aspirate ভ (=भ =*bh*) is usually changed to this bilabial spirant β, and ফ (=फ=ph) into ϕ.

['] (or [ʔ], in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association), represents the glottal stop=the Arabic *alif-hamza*, the East Bengali equivalent of হ (=ह=h).

ḥ stands for the unvoiced glottal spirants, the *visarga* of Skt.; and for the unvoiced pharyngal spirant, ح, of Arabic.

[ʿ]=the voiced pharyngal spirant, the sound of the Arabic *'ayn'* =ع.

ṣ (sʷ), ṭ (tʷ), ẓ (dʷ) and ðʷ stand for the *muṭbaq* or velarised consonant sounds of Arabic,=respectively ص, ط, ض, ظ. Italic *t*=the *tā-hā*, ة, of final syllables: in Classical or Old Arabic its sound appears to have been that of the aspirated *t* (=*th*, थ).

ʌ (=an inverted v) is the vowel sound heard in English *son*,

sun [=sʌn]. It is the *saṁvṛta ă* of Sanskrit, the short ɪ as in Hindi करना [=kʌrna:] 'to do'. Employed in the International Phonetic Association Alphabet.

ə (=an inverted e), represents a very short and indistinct vowel sound heard in English *ago, India* [=əgou, indiə] etc., and in Hindi words like रतन *rătăn* = [rʌtən] 'jewel' —the Hindi short and unaccented अ.

ɛ = the Greek letter, represents an open *è*, approaching the English sound as in *have, man* [hæv, mæn], only slightly more close than the English sound.

ɔ (=inverted c), indicates the sound of the short ǎ (অ=अ) in Bengali, very like the English sound as in *law, long* [lɔ:, lɔṅ].

~ , the 'tilde' sign, like the Sanskrit ँ, nasalises a vowel when placed above it: *ã, ā̃, ĩ, ē̃, ō̃, aĩ* = अँ, आँ, इँ, एँ, ओँ, ऐँ.

ą in Old Church Slav=a nasalised अँ or ओँ: properly it is *õ*=ओँ.

ä is the *hā-i-muxtafī* of Modern Persian, a final sound usually written *a* or *ah*, and sometimes *eh*.

I

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ARYAN SPEECH IN INDIA

LECTURE I

INDO-EUROPEAN, INDO-IRANIAN (ARYAN), INDO-ARYAN

Importance of the Aryan Speech in the Evolution of Indian Civilisation – the great Vehicle as well as Symbol of this Civilisation—the History of Aryan as a Speech uninterrupted for some 4500 years—Speech-Families—Conception of an Indo-European Speech-Family—Other Great Speech-Families of the World – Position of Indo-European among other Languages of the World—Primitive Indo-European—the *Wiros*—the Indo-European Speech as a Cultural Force affiliating other Peoples to it—Mixed Races and Indo-European Speech—the Home of the Primitive Indo-Europeans – Various Theories – Primitive Indo-European Culture – Society and Religion—Linguistic Palæontology – W. Brandenstein and the Earlier and Later Homes of the Indo-Europeans – South Uralic and Eastern European Regions – Differentiation of the Hittites and of the Indo-Iranians from the Main Body – the Indo-Europeans (Aryans or Indo-Iranians) in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor – the Boghaz-Koi and other Records —the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) Speech and Tribes – the non-Aryans—*Dasa-Dasyu* people of Iran and the Panjab – Contact with the *Dasa-Dasyus* started in Iran – Advent of the Aryans into India—Possible Age for this Event – Astronomical Data – Characteristics of Primitive Indo-European as a Language – the Sound-System of Prim. I.-E.—Vowel *Ablaut*, its Nature and Origin – Indo-European Morphology – the Verb in I.-E.—Prepositions – Compounds – Vocabulary—Change of Indo-European to Indo-Iranian (Aryan) – in Sounds – *Centum* and *Satem*—Examples—Indo-Iranian Religion and Poetry – Versification in Indo-European and Aryan—Cultural Influence of Mesopotamian Peoples on the Aryans—*Deva* and *Asura* in Iran – Aryans coming to India—Change of Indo-Iranian to (Old) Indo-Aryan as in Vedic – New Phonetic and Morphological Developments —Beginnings of Indo-Aryan.

Our Aryan Speech is one of our greatest heritages in India. India is a land of many races and many speeches, and the diverse elements which go to make up the conglomeration of the Indian People and Indian Culture received their tone and their common bond of union in the Aryan language and the mentality behind it. Since very ancient times, different races with their different types of culture came into India and settled down there, and according to their racial inheritance and capacity they built up organised society and civilisation and developed their ways of life and ideas of being. We have thus the primitive Negrito tribes, probably the most ancient people to make India their home: no proof has as yet been found that man of any type had evolved from some kind of anthropoid ape on the soil of India. Then these were followed by Austric tribes from Indo-China, and these in their turn by the Dravidians from the West. The Aryans next followed, and from the North-East and the North came Tibeto-Chinese tribes. These were the main 'races' (none of which may be assumed to have presented a pure and unmixed type) which supplied the basic elements in the formation of the people of India and its culture. There were possibly other elements also, but as yet we do not know any thing about them, although speculation is going on. After the Indian people and its distinctive culture had taken a noticeable form, other elements came in during historic times, to be wholly or partially absorbed into the Indian people, bringing more or less assimilated items of material, intellectual and spiritual or credal culture. The Negrito, the oldest inhabitant of India, with his primitive palæolithic life of the food-gatherer, had nothing to give in the building of Indian civilisation: he simply vanished from the scene, except where he has survived in some out of the way places, or where traces of him are found in later peoples which have absorbed him. The Austric and the Dravidian supplied some of the fundamental bases of the Indian population and Indian social and cultural life. The Tibeto-Chinese also furnished some elements in the population, probably also in culture, in a restricted area in the North-East. But it was the Aryan who with his superior

organisation welded all these various elements into a united whole, in which the component parts were chemically combined in some places, or just mechanically mixed in others; and the Aryan's language was one of the most potent factors in the evolution of Indian humanity in its history, its religion and thought,—in its characteristic culture. For this language became the vehicle, the symbol as well as the expression of the composite culture that grew up on the soil of India after the Austrics and the Dravidians had prepared the bases and the Aryans had started to build on these bases; and, as Sanskrit and as Pali, as the ancient North-Western Prakrit and Ardha-magadhi, and as Apabhraṁśa, and later as Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, Bengali and Nepali, and the rest, the Aryan Language came to be indissolubly linked with the Culture of India at various epochs and in various areas.

The history of the Aryan language in India shows an uninterrupted progress for some three thousand and five hundred years within India itself, and its pre-Indian history can be dimly perceived in Iran, in Iraq and Eastern Asia Minor for about a thousand years more; and even prior to that, we can draw from existing linguistic material fairly probable conclusions for another five hundred or even thousand years. From 3000 or 3500 B.C. right down to the present year 1940 A.D., the main lines of development of the Aryan language of India can be traced in its various stages of Indo-European, Indo-Iranian or 'Aryan,' and Indo-Aryan—the last (of course in greater detail) along its own special line of development in India as Old Indo-Aryan, as Middle Indo-Aryan and as New Indo-Aryan (OIA., MIA., and NIA.), or, to use the convenient if somewhat loose terms, as 'Sanskrit,' as 'Prakrit,' and as 'Bhāṣā'. No other speech-group can show such a long and continuous history as the Aryan in India, thanks primarily to the long series of authentic records, from the Vedic texts onwards. The chain has continued all through; and although far-reaching changes have come, snapping many a link and introducing many a new rivet, it is possible to trace along this chain the history of many a word and many a grammatical

form and at times even whole sentences from Modern Bengali or Gujarati, or Marathi or Panjabi, or Hindi, back to Primitive Indo-European through the Prakrit and the Vedic. A modern Gujarati sentence like *mā gher che* in this way can be worked back to its possible source in Primitive Indo-European of c. 3500 B.C., which was something like **mātērs ghṛdhoi es-ske-ti.* The study of this speech-development is a human science of utmost importance, and is a very fascinating subject withal, intimately connected as it is with our material and mental culture, our normal and natural as well as abnormal vicissitudes, and our periods of outside contact or inward isolation as a people.

The eight to nine hundred languages and dialects which are now spoken in the world have been divided into a number of 'families,' taking note of their structures and their mutual agreements both in structure and in what has been described in German as *Sprachgut*—in the 'language-commodity' or 'speech-goods' of roots, affixes and words. The idea of *Language Families* is one of the greatest discoveries in modern thought with reference to the evolution of man in all his environments and his accomplishments, and it developed during the last century, although the dawning of this idea took place in the 18th, when Sir William Jones began to study Sanskrit at Calcutta and felt enthusiastic about Sanskrit, as a language 'of wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either', and thought that these three languages, so close was their agreement with each other in roots and grammar, were derived from a common source which was no longer existent. Sir William Jones also thought that the Germanic Gothic and the Celtic belonged to the same group, and also the Old Persian language. This opinion of Jones, which may be described as a marvellous instance of scientific imagination, pointed the way in the direction of the hypothesis of Language Families; and with the comparative study of languages which showed evidence of common origin, the modern Science of Language was gradually ushered in. One is tempted to say that it was born when the brilliant idea

of Sanskrit and Greek and Latin, and Gothic and Old Persian belonging to one family dawned in Sir William Jones's mind.

Of the various language families with their affiliated languages and dialects which are current in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, Oceania and America, the most important is of course the *Indo-European.* It embraces the largest number of people on earth, and it includes some of the most influential languages, ancient and modern, which have for the past two thousand five hundred years and more been on the forefront of human progress. There are other great speech families—*Semitic* (†Assyrio-Babylonian, †Hebrew, †Phœnician, †Syriac, Arabic, †Sabæn, †Ethiopian, Abyssinian); *Hamitic* (†Ancient Egyptian, †Coptic, Tuareg, Kabyle and other Berber languages, Somali, Fulani etc.); *Sino-Tibetan* or *Tibeto-Chinese* (Sinic or Chinese, Dai or Thai i.e. Siamese, Mran-mā or Burmese, Bod or Tibetan, the Indo-Burman border speeches, etc. etc.); *Uralic* (Magyar, Finn, Esth, Lapp, Vogul, Ostyak etc.); *Altaic* (the Turki speeches, Mongol, Manchu); *Dravidian* (Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Gondi etc. and Brahui); *Austric* (the Kol or Munda dialects of India, Khasi, Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese and other *Austro-Asiatic* languages, besides *Austro-nesian* languages —the *Indonesian* Malay, Sundanese, Balinese, Javanese, Celebes, Visaya, Tagalog, etc., the *Melanesian* Fijian etc., and the *Polynesian* languages like Samoan, Tahitian, Maori, Marquesan, Hawaiian); *Bantu* (of Central and South Africa—Swahili, Luganda, the Congo languages, Sechuana, Zulu etc.); *Sudanic* (of West Africa—Yoruba, Gan, Ashanti, Mandingo etc.); and the various families of American speech in North, Central and South America, which are too numerous to mention : some of which are connected with great civilisations, or are spoken by millions, —yet they are either receding everywhere before languages belonging to the Indo-European family, or are receiving their impress in various ways. One Indo-European speech, English, has almost transcended its national or parochial limits, and has become, more than any other language, the nearest equivalent to a World Speech, a unique vehicle of World Culture. Entire tracts of country in different parts of the world which originally did

not know the Indo-European speech, and were either the homes of other languages or were uninhabited, have now become flourishing and ever-expanding centres of Indo-European. The case has been the same for India also ; and India was one of the earliest countries to be added to the empire of Indo-European, when it began its *dig-vijaya,* its world-conquest, some four thousand five hundred years ago.

The Primitive Indo-European language, as the source of Vedic, Old Persian and Avestan, of Greek, of Gothic and other Germanic, of Latin, of Old Irish and other Celtic speeches, and of the Slav and Baltic languages, of Armenian and Albanian, of 'Hittite' and 'Tokharian,' was spoken in its undivided state among a people to whom some philologists have given the name of **Wiros,* that being the Primitive Indo-European word for 'man' from which the Sanskrit *vīra,* the Latin *uīr,* the Germanic *wer* and the Old Irish *fer* have come. The *Wiros* are therefore the linguistic forefathers, if not actually the racial forbears, of all modern peoples, diverse in origin and in mental make-up, who have joined the Indo-European Speech Family. It is now actually impossible to find out what the *Wiros* were like, and who are their truest present-day descendants—where do we find their purest remnants. The Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas of ancient India are looked upon as being the true descendants of the *Wiros* who entered India as *Āryas* or *Aryans ;* so too the Aryans of Iran. Present-day Nazi Germany is being taught to believe that the German people (or Germanic-speaking peoples) are the truest and purest *Wiros,* although racial mixture is quite patent and is admitted among the Germans ; and some scholars, Germans themselves, have denied racial purity or even racial and linguistic inheritance as true descendants of the *Wiros* to the German people. Racial mixture has been quite in the nature of things in ancient India, as would be evident from many an episode of Brahman or Kshatriya and Nāga or Śūdra or Dāsa marriage in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, although orthodox Aryans, proud of their Aryan 'colour,' sought to preserve themselves from contamination with the darker Dāsa or non-Aryan colour by instituting or adopting and in later times en-

couraging the system of endogamous castes. Dark-skinned Brahmans cleverer than white-skinned ones are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas : with the *en masse* Aryanisation in language and creed and social outlook of non-Aryan tribes in India, their chiefs obtained the status of Kshatriyas and their priests that of Brahmans ; and the more ancient the Aryanisation, the more complete has been this absorption within these exalted castes, supposed to include none but the purest Aryans. Even foreigners in late and historical times were absorbed in these top classes or castes, e.g. the Śakas in pre- and post-Christian times, and the Mithra or Mihira worshipping Iranian priests who were admitted as 'Śākadvīpīya' Brahmans i.e. Brahmans who came from Śaka-dvīpa or Śaka-sthāna (=Seistān in Eastern Iran) during the early centuries of the Christian era and re-inforced the old Aryan Cult of the Sun in India. All these and other facts would go to suggest that the original Indo-European speaking people, the *Wiros,* of unknown racial characteristic (though it is not unlikely that they were Nordic originally—tall, large-limbed, straight-nosed, white-skinned, blue-eyed, golden-haired,—although this has been questioned, and a mixed racial origin has been postulated for them even from their undivided state), spread with their language and their social organisation, and they were able to impose both of these upon many a people they came in contact with, peacefully or in a hostile way. So that, while they themselves were absorbed within the peoples among whom they established themselves, either as conquering and ruling aristocracies or as peaceful settlers strong in numbers and in ability to impose their ways,—their language and the culture that goes with language were adopted by the original dwellers in the land. These latter, inspite of their originally distinct racial traditions and distinct languages, found themselves transformed,—being, as is usual in such a case, unable to understand the process ; and thus they became the proud inheritors and protagonists of the Indo-European language and the Indo-European *milieu*—both of which were considerably modified during the course of this assimilation. This has been a remarkable though not unique phenomenon

in the cultural history of man: a single people creates a language and a tradition, and this is transformed into a great cultural force, which affiliates to itself other peoples by making them accept it on the background of their own.

We do not know *where* the Primitive Indo-European language was characterised, i.e. was developed into something like the oldest Indo-European speeches, Vedic and Gāthā Avestan and Homeric Greek; nor can it be ascertained *when* exactly the *Wiros* were living as a single undivided people. The *Wiros* did not develop any system of writing, and they emerge into history long after other peoples,—e.g. the Egyptians, the Sumerians, the Akkadians, the Assyrians, the Elamites, the peoples of Asia Minor, the Ægean people of Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, the pre-Aryans in India who built up the Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro culture, and the Chinese,—had developed great civilisations. They appear to have come into contact with the civilised peoples of Northern Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor for the first time during the closing centuries of the 3rd millennium B.C.; and by 2000 B.C. we find them quite a good deal in evidence in Mesopotamia. Where did they come from? The Italian anthropologist Sergi suggested that they belonged to the Asia Minor highlands which was their original home or 'area of characterisation': and the recent discovery of the *Nesían* or 'Hittite' speech and its affiliation to the Indo-European family as its oldest branch—even as a sister rather than as a daughter of Primitive Indo-European—would appear to lend support to this hypothesis. But there are other facts which go to suggest some other tract of the Eurasian continent as the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans. Before Sergi, there were various opinions about the original habitat of the the Indo-Europeans. F. Max Müller popularised the Central Asia hypothesis. Central Asia was not much known to the outside world during the middle of the last century, and was a land of romantic mystery. But as early as the fifties of the last century, Latham protested against the Central Asia theory and suggested that "somewhere in Europe" was the original home of the Indo-Europeans. This "somewhere in

Europe" has exercised the skill and imagination of scholars—Eastern Russia, Southern Russia, Northern Germany, Scandinavia, Hungary, Poland and Lithuania being among the tracts suggested as the lost fatherland of 'the Aryan' of the ancient world. Somewhere in Eastern Europe has been a popular theory. The prehistoric grave-mounds of Central and Eastern Europe are believed to be associated with the horse-breeding and horse-using Indo-Europeans. It was in the plain lands of Central and Eastern Europe fringed on the north by the temperate forest lands that Indo-European culture, half nomadic and half settled, was supposed to have developed. From there, bands of these, owing either to desiccation of these tracts or to pressure from other peoples, spread south and west as well as south-east and north-west, and there coming in touch with other established peoples became the Greeks, the Thracians and Phrygians, the Armenians, the Aryans (Indo-Iranians), the Germans, the Celts and the Italians of ancient times. In their primitive state, the Indo-Europeans, or *Wiros,* had not been able to develop any material culture of a very high order. They had a wonderful language, and they appear to have been very well-organised socially—the fabric of their tribal solidarity held even under most adverse circumstances and seems to have impressed itself upon other peoples with whom they came in contact later. Their society was based on the family which was monogamous and patriarchal in form, and this patriarchal family was the nucleus of what came to be known among the Aryans of India as the *gōtra* or clan, a collection of such clans each with its common head forming the people. The Indo-Europeans were endowed with a fine imagination, which, combined with practical sense and adaptility, made them invincible everywhere. In the relationship between the sexes, there was a feeling of respect for the woman as the unmarried daughter of the house who was to be cherished and protected and given in marriage by her father and brothers, as the wife who was to be the fellow and responsible partner of her man through life, and as the mother who was the respected guide and counsellor of the clan. They developed a religion in which the

beneficent rather than the harmful aspect of the unseen powers or forces (which were mainly conceived of as the forces of nature) was emphasised. Their conception of the divinity was, in the words of Antoine Meillet, "heavenly and bright, immortal, giver of good: and this conception is not much distant from that of the average individual in Europe of today." God, or the Gods were dwellers in the heaven above, in contradistinction to men who dwelt on earth below: the Gods were forces rather than anthropomorphic beings, although their humanisation in form and character was also known, and later appears to have developed largely when the Indo-Europeans came in touch with other peoples with well-formed notions of Gods of a human type. But excepting for a **Dyēus Pətērs* or 'Sky Father,' a **Pl̥th̥əwiə Mātērs* or 'Earth Mother,' **Suwelios* or 'the Sun-God,' **Ausōs* or 'the Dawn-Goddess,' **Wn̥tos* or 'the Wind-God,' and few such other nature gods, the *Wiros* appear not to have evolved a remarkable or large pantheon, like, e.g. the Egyptians and the Sumero-Akkadians. About their religion we have to base our opinion almost entirely on *Linguistic Palæontology,* the science of unravelling the origins of a people or the original character of its culture by studying the meaning and force of the words in its language on a comparative basis.

The story of the material culture of the Indo-Europeans is similarly based on Linguistic Palæontology, and the fruitful labours of German and other scholars have revealed to us in considerable detail the type of culture which had taken shape among the *Wiros*. The principles of this aspect of Linguistics have been extended to the consideration of the question of the original habitat of the Indo-Europeans, and recently W. Brandenstein has brilliantly demonstrated the nature of the early home-land of the Indo-Europeans (*Die erste indogermanische Wanderung,* 1936: see the extremely helpful *résumé* by Prof. A. Berriedale Keith in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* of Calcutta, XIII, I, March 1937). Brandenstein has shown that from linguistic evidence we can see that there were two distinct periods in the history of the Primitive Indo-Europeans—(1)

the earlier period when the various branches of the Indo-European people had not as yet developed into separate groups with dialectal differences, and (2) when the Indo-Iranians had separated from the main body of the Indo-Europeans who appear to have moved on to a different land with a new type of climate. In the earlier period, the Indo-European language had certain meanings for some particular words and roots, and these original meanings were kept on in the dialects current among the ancestors of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-Europeans; but with the other, non-Indo-Iranian body of the Indo-Europeans, these roots and words had developed newer meanings which are not found among the Indo-Iranians. Thus the primitive Indo-European **gwer, *gwerāu* originally meant 'stone': its Sanskrit equivalent *grāvan* meant 'stone for pressing (the *sōma*-juice)' in a slightly narrowed sense, but in the other groups of Indo-European outside of the Indo-Iranian the word came to mean 'mill-stone' and then 'hand-mill' (as in Old English *cweorn,* Modern English *quern),* a sense which had developed latter. So the Primitive Indo-European root **melĝ* meant 'to rub', which is preserved in Sanskrit √*mṛj, mṛś,* but in the other forms of non-Indo-Iranian Indo-European speech it came to mean 'to milk.' So Prim. IE. √**sēi* meant 'to throw a missile,' cf. Skt. *sāy-aka,* but elsewhere i.e. outside of Indo-Iranian it developed the sense of 'scattering seed,' of 'sowing' (cf. Latin *sē-men* 'seed,' German *säen,* English verb *sow).* Prim. IE. **mel*='to make weak', which is found in Sanskrit also (√*mal),* came to have the new sense of 'to grind' in non-Indo-Iranian languages and dialects of IE. Prim. IE. **perk̂om* (=Skt. *parśa-)* meant 'rift in the ground' (through heat and other natural causes), but a new meaning came to be attached to the word—'furrow' (cf. New English *furrow* from Old English *furh,* German *Furche).* A close enquiry into the meanings of primitive Indo-European roots and words and their transformations has revealed an exceedingly important result to Brandenstein, and it is this: that originally the primitive IE. people lived in some comparatively dry rocky tract, where there were no real forests but clumps of trees, and

among these trees were the following—the oak, the willow, the birch, a resinous tree, and an elastic tree; they had no fruit trees; they knew the following animals originally—the elk, the otter, the wild boar, the wolf, the fox, the bear, the hare, the beaver, the mouse, and a few other ones, among wild animals; among domestic animals, the cow evidently they received from the Sumerians (Sumerian *gud,* pronounced *gu-* with loss of final consonant c. 2700 B.C., was adopted into Prim. IE. as *$*g^{w}\bar{o}us$*), the sheep, the goat, the horse, the dog, and the pig. They knew some birds, and they were not acquainted with many amphibian animals, and with fish. At a subsequent period, by moving to some other tract from their original habitat, they arrived in a low marshy country, where they came across a more extended and a different flora and fauna. The northern Kirghiz steppes, south and east of the Ural mountains, present the most likely area which fits in with the natural character of the country deduced from the study of the older stratum in Primitive Indo-European: and the flat lands of Europe from the Carpathians to the Baltic similarly supply the area most in conformity with the situation for the new Indo-European home-land presented by the later lexical and semantic stratum of the language. Further, Indo-European borrowings from foreign sources in the earlier period show connexions with the Sumero-Akkadian world of Mesopotamia, rather than with the more or less different culture-worlds of Western Asia, Egypt and Ægean Greece.

In Brandenstein's view, therefore, the Central Asian hypothesis in a modified form as the most likely conjecture for the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans of the earliest periods appears to have been rehabilitated. The vast Eurasian plain to the south of the Ural mountains would thus appear to be the primitive Indo-European homeland. There one branch of the Indo-European people, the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians, probably stayed on, while the main body drifted towards the west, to what is now Poland, which formed the new *nidus* for the *Wiros* in Europe. Or it may be that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans and of the 'Hittites' of Asia Minor left the primi-

tive home-land in the North Central Asian steppes first, trekking south-west through the Caucasus into Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and Iran during the second half of the third millennium B.C., while the European body went westward. This is quite a reasonable theory, and is unquestionably based on the soundest linguistic and archæological methods obtaining now. The Eurasian plain was the habitat of the wild horse, and the taming of the horse was perhaps the greatest contribution to material civilisation which the *Wiros,* barbarians in their isolated state, were able to make. Prior to their coming down to the lands of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia during the second half of the third millennium B.C. with the horse, trained to carry men and burdens and to draw carts, the only means of locomotion there were the ox, the ass and the camel; and the swift horse came and revolutionised international relationships and the spread of culture by making contacts quick and easy.

The Indo-Europeans thus were a group (whether racially pure or mixed we do not know) of splendid barbarians who had as yet to make their mark in history. When first in some dim age during the third year-thousand before Christ their tribes began to press south and west in search of new homes, they started a movement for world-domination through their language and their mentality which became during the last three thousand years the most important force in human history. It is likely that the 'Hittites' were the first group of the primitive *Wiros* to have left the ancestral home-land and to have come to the lands of the south: and although they became the dominant power in Asia Minor, ruling over the earlier pre-Indo-European peoples, during the middle of the second pre-Christian year-thousand, their long sojourn among alien peoples, cut off from the main body of their relations, brought about some fundamental changes in their Indo-European speech. They were followed by the Indo-Iranians, or Aryans, who by 2000 B.C. had arrived in Northern Mesopotamia. In the west, a little later, another branch of the Indo-Europeans who had settled in Eastern Europe, Poland and the Carpathian regions—namely, the Hellenes,—came down through the Balkans—

through what are now Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, into Greece and Western Asia Minor, and there they mingled with the civilised pre-Indo-European peoples of the Greek and Asiatic main-lands and the Islands, and gradually transformed these latter in language, imposing their Indo-European speech (which later became Greek) on them, and forming a composite culture which became the primitive Greek culture by 1000 B.C.

A great landmark in the narrative history of the progress of the Indo-Europeans is presented by the Boghaz Köi documents discovered in N.E. Asia Minor by Hugo Winckler at the commencement of this century. Among these we find certain treaty records which date from about 1400 B.C. of the Mitanni people, in which the ruling class of the Mitanni calling themselves *Marya-nni* (cf. Vedic *marya* 'man') mentions names of some of the gods they worshipped—*In-da-ra, Mi-it-ta-ra, U-ru-wan-a* (or *A-ru-na*) and *Na-sa-at-ti-ya,* which are just the names of the gods mentioned in the Rigveda as *Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa* and the two *Nāsatyas* or *Aśvins*—written in the Babylonian syllabic writing. Other documents from Boghaz Köi and other places show that during the greater part of the 2nd millennium B.C. tribes with kings and other persons bearing names which recall both Sanskrit (Vedic) and Old Iranian and using a dialect (or dialects) very much like Vedic and Old Iranian were participating in the political and cultural life of the Mesopotamian kingdoms, Babylon included. The presence of Vedic gods in Mesopotamia and peoples evidently using a language (or dialects) of the Sanskrit type, c. 1500 B.C., has led some scholars, both Indian and European, to think that here we have to deal with an Indian Vedic tribe, or tribes, which left India after Vedic culture was fully developed on the soil of India: and that consequently the date of the first Aryan invasion or settlement of India will have to be taken to a period considerably anterior to B.C. 2000. This would take the date of the Vedic hymns to times before 2000 B.C., at the latest.

But this view is not at all tenable. The language stratum presented by the Mesopotamian documents is certainly anterior

to that of the Vedic speech—it is *Indo-Iranian* rather than *Indo-Aryan,* as any superficial study even of these names and words would clearly demonstrate (see in this connexion the excellent article by the late N. D. Mironov on "Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the 2nd millenary B.C." in the *Acta Orientalia,* Vol. VI, Nos. i, ii & iii, in which these Indo-Aryan names and words have been given and studied linguistically). Thus names like *Śimalia*='the goddess of the bright (i.e. snow-covered) mountains,' *Aitagama*='Deer-goer (?)', *Śuwardata*='Sun-given', *Tušratta* 'Terrible-chariot,' are transcriptions in Babylonian script of Indo-Iranian, pre-Vedic forms like **Z'himālia-,* **Aita-gāma,* **Suwar-dāta,* **Duž-ratha* (=Sanskrit *Himāla-, Eta-gāma, svardatta,* and *Dūratha);* and forms like *aika, aita* present the pre-Vedic diphthong *ai* which was contracted into the Vedic and Sanskrit *ē (ē* before consonants, *ay* before vowels). The pre-Vedic *z'h* and *ž* are also preserved. The people speaking Aryan dialects in Mesopotamia were just pre-Vedic, pre-Indian Aryans who were sojourning in or passing through Mesopotamia, some of whom settled down among the people of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, while others pushed on further to the east, into Iran and then into India. Among the Indo-Iranian tribes who were settled in Mesopotamia, and were gradually absorbed into the surrounding population, their numbers proving too small and their material culture and organisation too ineffective to enable them to retain their separate linguistic and cultural identity, were the *Maryanni* or Mitanni, the *Harri* (=Ārya?), the *Manda* people, and the *Kassites* (=the *Kāśi* tribe?) who conquered Babylon in c. 1800 B.C. and ruled there for some centuries. But some tribes did not settle down permanently on Mesopotamian land, but sought new homes further to the east, and arrived in Iran. Among them were the *Parśu* (? the 'axe'-people—cf. the Germanic tribal name *Saxon* connected with Old English *seax*='knife,' *Frank* from Germanic **franka*='javelin' etc.) and the *Mada* (=the 'proud' tribe), who later became the Persians and the Medes, and the *Śaka* (the 'powerful' tribe), who went to the north (north-east and north-west) of Iran and thence spread into South Russia (and were

known to the Greeks as *Skuthes* or *Skuthioi* i.e. Scythians) and to Central Asia; and other tribes pushed on still further to the east–the *Bhṛgus* (who probably had left behind an analogous or connected tribe with the main body of the Indo-Europeans who went west, and from there the western Bhṛgus appear to have come to Asia Minor by way of Thrace and Macedon and to have become the *Briges* or *Phruges* i.e. Phrygians), the *Bharatas,* the *Madras,* the *Kurus* (cf. *Kuru* as a personal name also in Iran – *Kuruš*=Greek *Kuros,* Latinised to *Cyrus,* the founder of the Achaemenian Empire) and others, who settled in India.

The advent of the Aryan tribes into India from Iran appears to have been a slow process, probably occupying generations. The Aryans themselves have not preserved any memory of it in the Vedic literature available, for the simple reason that they were not conscious of having entered a new country. They must have been settled in Iran with the Parśu, the Mada and other Iranian tribes for some centuries, and Persia or the Iranian plateau was a home rather than a halting place for most of these Indo-Iranian or Aryan tribes. For here undoubtedly developed the germs of Indo-Iranian culture, which we notice in Mesopotamia, into a full-fledged Indo-Iranian or Aryan religion which was the common heritage of both the Vedic Indians and the pre-Zoroastrian Iranians. The fire-cult was strengthened, a special priest-craft with an elaborate ritual developed, and the *sōma* plant (**sauma,* Avestan *haoma,* Vedic *sōma)* took a prominent place in some of the sacrifices. Vedic and Avestan metre also probably had its beginnings in Iran, if not earlier in Mesopotamia. In Iran, the Aryans had found the country occupied by other peoples: the *Elamites* in Western Iran, of unknown affinity, and probably also the *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* people, who were to be found in Eastern Iran, in the tracts contiguous to India and who were also spread over the western and northwestern parts of India–certainly over the Panjab and Sindh. In India the non-Aryan peoples whom the Aryans encountered were called by them *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* (as in the Rigveda): In Iranian, these names would become **Dāha* and **Dahyu,* and

actually we find a people called *Dahai* mentioned by the Greeks as dwelling in the north-east of Iran, and in Old Persian *dahyu* occurs as a common noun meaning 'country', whence we have New Persian *dih*='village'—the Old Persian *dahyu* being just the name of the people inhabiting the country transferred to the country itself, and then generalised to mean 'land' or 'country'; a semantic development not absolutely unique in the world (cf. *Wales, Wallachia* in Europe, ultimaely from the name of a Celtic tribe, the *Volcae,* which gave the Germanic **walχ*- which came to mean 'foreign'). The Aryan invasion of India was evidently a slow extension of the Aryan pale from Eastern Iran into the Panjab, in the *Dāsa-Dasyu* country: and as such, so long as the originally settled aboriginal people continued to be the same, there could not be any idea that a new and a totally different land was being entered into by the Aryans, as no violent contrast with a totally different people from the one with which they were familiar was presented.

The beginning of the Aryan ingress to India was comparatively a late event in ancient history. I cannot venture to hazard an opinion, but it looks unlikely that this event can be placed at a date earlier than the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. It may be even later. We have to take Indian history as a part of world-history, as being intimately connected with that of the lands of the Near East particularly. Viewed in this context, when we find that the Indo-Europeans are coming into contact with the civilised peoples of antiquity only as late as 2000 B.C., it would be absolutely unhistorical to assume an exaggerated antiquity for the coming of the Aryans into India. (The orthodox Hindu view of the Aryans being autochthonous to India need not be seriously considered even.) The period of undivided Indo-Europeandom is not so very ancient either, compared with the time-standards presented by the history and pre-history of Egypt and Chaldea. In our country some scholars have taken up the astronomical side of the question, and approaching the astronomical data from various standpoints, a very high antiquity has been proposed by them. But this astronomical argument is vitiated by one great drawback—there

is no universally accepted method for discussing these astronomical data, and individual investigators have arrived at quite different conclusions about the interpretations and dates. The amount of exact knowledge in astronomy possessed by the Aryans when the Veda and the *Brāhmaṇa* texts were composed can also be questioned. It is well-known that serious or scientific astronomy was the creation of the Chaldeans, and that the Greeks improved upon what they obtained from them, and India learned a good deal of the science from the Greeks. In Gupta and post-Gupta times the Hindus made some advance, and the conception of the earth as a globe and of the movement of the earth round its axis was arrived at by them. With the exacter knowledge of the science, when the Hindus set about fixing the chronology of their past, with such meagre sense of antiquity which they could bring to bear upon the subject, there was a good deal of back calculation. So the safer plan in our attempt to find out the chronology of Vedic times would be to concentrate on archæology and on linguistics, not neglecting, however, whatever of a clear and definite nature is found with reference to astronomy.

Any definite date of the Aryan advent into India being impossible, we take 1500 B.C. in round numbers as the period when the first bands of Aryans arrived in the Panjab. They were speaking their Aryan tongue, and they were singing hymns to their gods and praises of their heroes (*narāśaṁsa gāthā*) in that tongue. This is the beginning of the history of the Indo-Aryan speech and its literature. When the Aryans came into India, the Aryan or Indo-Iranian dialects had already passed through two stages of development from the Primitive Indo-European speech, the language of the *Wiros*. First we have the undivided Indo-European speech,—in which, too, Brandenstein, whose views have been discussed before, and others, see more than one stratum. But in what may be called typical or ordinary or Common Primitive Indo-European, we see a language, with certain definite characteristics in sounds and forms, which is largely preserved in the Aryan speech brought into India.

In Primitive Indo-European, as reconstructed by the labours of four generations of scholars in Europe, we have a language singularly rich in forms, and able to express all complex ideas which fell within its purview with admirable skill by means of inflexions which had developed subtle forces; and although as in all primitive speech the time-sense was not so finely developed in it, it was capable of indicating nuances in the type of action indicated by the verb, whether it was temporary or continuous, inchoative or completive, or reiterative, in a way which was denied to many other forms of speech. The inflexional system was quite in accord with the imaginative nature of the Indo-European people;—the gender-sense was natural, to start with, but as certain affixes became endowed with certain sex-connexions, grammatical gender arose, and this made the language easily lend itself to a poetic attitude and approach—to a personifying tendency—with regard to things of nature and of life in general. The sound-system of Primitive Indo-European has a greater preference for momentary stop sounds rather than for continuous spirant ones: it had elaborate groups of these stops, which also occurred aspirated, and it had corresponding nasals for these various groups of stops and aspirates: e.g. it had the uvular sounds of *q, qh, g, gh, ṅ,* and a labialised set of these q^w, q^wh, g^w, g^wh, $ṅ^w$, and a set of ordinary velar sounds (miscalled 'palatals')—*k̂, k̂h, ĝ, ĝh, ṅ;* besides the dental (probably alveolar) set *t, th, d, dh, n,* and the labial set *p, ph, b, bh, m.* Of continuant sounds it had only a solitary *s,* which would become the voiced *z* in voiced company. It had besides two liquids, which were kept distinct, viz. *l* and *r.* It appears to have possessed no aspirate proper,—no *h,*—although the discovery of the Hittite speech as a branch of Indo-European has led some scholars to suggest that the oldest Indo-European had a definite *h*-sound which has been preserved only in Hittite; but this has been disputed. A number of spirants—the entire gamut of *χ, γ, θ, δ* sounds (represented by the Arabic خ, غ, ث and ذ respectively), as a matter of fact, and also a voiced palatal spirant sound like *z′*,

something like the French *j*, as a modification of a *y*-sound,–have been assumed for Indo-European by a number of scholars; but these assumptions appear not to be indispensable to explain facts in the ancient Indo-European languages. The vowels of Indo-European were the three original vowels *a, e, o,* and the two derivative or secondary vowels *i, u* which were intimately connected with the semi-vowels *y, w* and occurred mainly in diphthongs, besides a number of weak vowels of various grades—of which a notable one was the so-called neutral vowel ə. These vowels occurred both as short and long, and primary vowels *a, e, o* could be combined with *y* and *w* to form diphthongs.

The vowels could not be nasalised. The most noteworthy thing about Indo-European phonology, which was also intimately connected with its morphology, was the system of *Ablaut* or regular Vowel-Gradation. By this, a root occurred in a number of vowel gradations in the various derivative words and inflected declinational and conjugational forms, and the affix elements also showed these gradations. Thus a root showed various vowel grades like **bher-e-ti, bhe-bhor-e, bher-os, bhor-os, bhōr-os, bhr̥-tos, bhe-bhr-oi;* *g*^{w}*ous,* *g*^{w}*owi,* *g*^{w}*eus,* *g*^{w}*u; bher-ont-s, bher-n̥tō; pə-tēr-s, pə-tĕr-ōu, pə-tĕr-i, pə-tr-ō, pə-tr̥–su; qr̥-neu-ti, qr̥-nu-tai; sū-nu-s, sū-neu-es, sū-nou-s;* etc., etc. It had taken a long time for this Ablaut to develop within Indo-European. It is believed that in Prehistoric Indo-European there was an earlier stage of stress accent, which gave rise to what is known as *Quantitative Ablaut* (change of *e* to *ē*, or to ə or zero), and then a stage of pitch accent bringing about *Qualitative Ablaut* (e. g. change of *e* and *a* to *o*). But the outward face of the language got a definite form from this, and these Vowel Grades easily became the most prominent thing in the phonology of the ancient Indo-European languages like Greek, Sanskrit and Avestan, Gothic and other ancient Germanic, Old Irish, Old Church Slav, etc.; and the Ablaut has survived more or less in all Indo-European languages (cf. English *sing–song,* Italian *dar–dono,* New Indo-Aryan *măr–mār, mil–mēl,* etc.).

Ablaut survived in Indo-Aryan, but because the Indo-European vowel-system was simplified, *e, o, a* all these three changing to *a* (e.g. IE. **dedoṙka* 'I saw', **dedoṙke* 'he saw'= Greek *dedorka, dedorke,* but Skt. *dadarśa* for both), Qualitative Ablaut was lost to Sanskrit; what was left was only Quantitative Ablaut, e.g. *ă—ā; i—ăi, āi; u—ău, āu; ṛ—ăr, ār.* The phenomenon in its rather mutilated form as it obtains in Sanskrit was fully noticed by the Sanskrit grammarians, who have described it in parts—as *guṇa, vṛddhi,* and *samprasāraṇa.* (In the absence of a comprehensive single term in Sanskrit for the entire phenomenon, I have suggested a new coining in Sanskrit, *Apa-śruti,* based on the German word *Ablaut).* Roots indicated either nouns (e.g. **g^{w}ou, nṛ),* or verbs (e.g. **deiḱ, bher, ei, ed),* or both verbs and nouns (e.g. **pō, wid).* In Morphology, the Indo-European noun indicated case relationships in the three numbers and the eight cases by means of various affixes, which also, as mentioned above, showed vowel gradation; and these case-affixes were different according to the noun-endings (e.g. **deiwos*—genitive *deiweso, deiwoso,* or *deiwosyo,* but **sūnus*—genitive *sūnous,* **wesumenēs,* genitive *wesumenesos;* * *ḱrəis—ḱrəios;* **yeqṛ-t — yeqnos* etc.). The pronouns had some special case-endings which were different from those for the noun. The dual denoted only articles that went in pairs—not two of a thing, but this extended use of the dual came in easily. Gender was not restricted to any special set of noun and adjective affixes or terminations: a noun in *-os* (= *aḥ* of Sanskrit) could be feminine (e.g. Greek *parthenos* 'virgin', *nuos* for **snusos*=Sanskrit *snuṣā,* Sanskrit *dāra, dārāḥ,* masculine plural,='wife', connected with Greek *doulos* 'slave' and Sankrit *dārikā;* etc.), and a noun in *-ā* could be masculine (we have remnants of these in Sanskrit, and we have it in Latin). It was later on independently in the different ancient Indo-European languages that grammatical gender associated with certain special affixes grew up. In the case of the numerals, Indo-European early developed the decimal system. As with all primitive peoples, counting began with the fingers: the index pointing

at a near object—'that one, he,' so to say, gave the basic word for 'one' (*oi-no-s, oi-wo-s, oi-qo-s* : connected with the pronominal base **oi-*=Sanskrit *ē-, ay-* in *ē-na-, ē-ta-, ē-ṣa-, ay-am* etc.). The word for 'two' (**dwōu*) meant 'diversity' (cf. Greek *dia,* Latin *dis*); 'three' (**treyes*)='that which went beyond' (root **ter, tr̥*). Beyond this it is not possible to analyse the numerals of Indo-European, although attempts have been made. The Indo-European pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons show a diversity of stems (e.g. 1st person—**eg̑h-om* or *eg̑-om, me-, wei-, ne-,* 2nd persons *tu* or *tu-om* < *tew-, yu-, we-*).

With regard to the verb in Indo-European, we find that the tense or time-sense was not very well determined, but the character of the action was sought to be clearly indicated by means of certain affixes, which were added between the root and the personal termination in some of the forms. The later moods and tenses of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, etc., developed out of these affixes. In Sanskrit these affixes became practically unmeaning, although the ancient grammarians took note of them in classifying the verb-roots of Sanskrit into the ten classes (*gaṇas*). Sanskrit grammarians ignored some of these affixes (*Vikaraṇas*), and they recognised seven *Vikaraṇas* only (excepting in the case of the roots of the *ad* and *hu* classes and partially of the *rudh* class, for which there are no *Vikaraṇas*—no modifications of the root by adding these *Vikaraṇas* ending in a vowel *-a* which comes from Indo-European *-e, -o*), but in Primitive Indo-European the number is over thirty. Thus the *Vikaraṇa -(c)cha-* of Sanskrit has not been given a separate status in indigenous Sanskrit grammar, being simply brought under the *-a* of the *bhū* class (*bhav-a-*), but we have a good dozen roots in Sanskrit showing this (e.g. *r̥cchati* < √*r̥, gacchati* < √*gam, icchati* < √*iṣ, pr̥cchati* < √*pr̥ṣ, vāñchati* < √*van, yacchati* < √*yam,* etc.)—and there are equivalents of this *-(c)cha-* in the other IE. languages, which would go to show that in Primitive Indo-European the *Vikaraṇa* **sk̑e/sk̑o-,* the equivalent of Sanskrit *-(c)cha-,* was a very noteworthy form which had its special force of inchoation. The future had not yet developed from certain completive forms with the *Vikaraṇa* **-so-* or **-syo-* which

gave both the future and the aorist to the ancient Indo-European languages. The root was reduplicated, as a means to indicate some kind of emphasis, which with some special personal terminations (personal terminations were of various sorts in Indo-European when they were added to inflected verb-forms to denote person and number—they were partly connected with the pronominal bases) became the perfect tense (=*liṭ* of the Sanskrit grammarians) of Sanskrit and Greek. There was a particle **é* which was placed before certain verb-forms to indicate past action. The use of this **é* was optional in Prim. IE., but in certain ancient Indo-European languages it became obligatory. This was the source of the Sanskrit *a-* before the verb in the imperfect, aorist and past conditional. Indo-European by means of affixes and also with the help of reduplication formed some special conjugations—the causative, the desiderative and the frequentative, but these were still in their inceptive stage in Primitive IE. The passive voice did not occur in Primitive Indo-European—there was the active and the reflexive—the *parasmāi-pada* and the *ātmanē-pada* of Sanskrit, and the passive developed in Sanskrit from the reflexive much later. Indo-European had a number of gerunds and infinitives which were mostly inherited by Indo-Aryan, but were gradually lost on the soil of India. There were a number of adverbial and prepositional words, the vowels of which were subject to the working of the Ablaut; and these both governed words in the various cases, and modified verbs : the Sanskrit *upasargas* in their original form (Sanskrit lost some of them: but the 21 that have survived are mostly all good Indo-European, **pro, perō, apo, ni, edhi, ewo, enu, proti, peri* etc.).

One feature of Indo-European was its power to form compounds of various words. Such compounds have been carried on from Indo-European to Greek, Sanskrit and other ancient Indo-European languages, as e.g. in some names of Indo-European origin: cf. **Wesumenēs*=Skt. *Vasumanāḥ,* Avestan *Vohumanō,* Greek *Eumenēs;* **Seghodeiwos*=Skt. *Sahadēvaḥ,* Old Norse *Sigtyr* from **Sigitīwaz;* *k̑weitok̑lewēs*=Skt. **Svēta-śravāḥ,* Old Church Slav *Svyatoslavŭ* (cf. Skt. *Uccaiḥśravāḥ,*

Bhūriśravāḥ, Greek *Periklēs* < **Periklewēs*=Skt. *Pariśravāḥ*, etc.), **k̑m̥tomgʷyā*= Greek *(he-)katombē*, Skt. *Śatagvā*, etc. Descriptive compounds in names and epithets, in the preservation and construction of which Sanskrit, Greek, the Old Germanic languages, Old Slav, Old Celtic etc. show a remarkable agreement, form one of the distinctive things in Indo-European.

In its vocabulary, Indo-European in its original homeland in the Eurasian plain to the south of the Ural mountains probably borrowed (as it gave to them as well) words from the contiguous Ural and Altaic speeches; and the civilised peoples of Mesopotamia, the non-Semitic Sumerians and the Semitic Akkadians, appear to have influenced the primitive Indo-Aryans directly or indirectly, and to have given them a few words, among which may be mentioned Sumerian *gu(d)*='ox, cow', Sumerian *balag*, Akkadian *pilaqqu*='axe', and Sumerian *urudu*='copper' (which we find in Sanskrit as *gāu*, *paraśuḥ* =Greek *pelekus*, and *lōha* 'iron', literally 'the red metal,' 'copper,' from earlier *rōha*, **rōdha*, **raudha*, a form in which the foreign Chaldean and the native Indo-European have merged). The Indo-European group which went west-ward came in proximity of the civilised world of Asia Minor and pre-Hellenic Greece, and borrowed a number of words in this area from the Semitic and 'Asianic' (i.e. ancient Asia Minor) languages, among which may be mentioned *tauros* = 'bull', *melit-* = 'honey,' **ward-* = 'rose-', **woino-* = 'wine', **oloiw-* = 'olive' etc., which are not found in Eastern Indo-European or Indo-Iranian.

Such was the original Indo-European back-ground of Aryan. This underwent a transformation, first in the internal form of the language when great phonetic changes came in; and then, after the Aryan speakers came out of their isolation in their primitive home into the midst of the civilised world of Mesopotamia, both its outward and inward forms became liable to other changes. The great phonetic change was the simplification of the short and long vowels *a, e, o, ā, ē, ō* to *a, ā*, whether occurring singly or in diphthongs; of the weak vowel *ə* to *i*; and, in the case of the consonants, of the velar (or so-

called 'palatal') *k̂, k̂h, ĝ, ĝh* from stops and aspirates to palatal spirants and spirants aspirated—to *ś, śh, z', z'h* (this or an analogous change also occurred in some other forms of Indo-European, which e.g. later became Armenian, Albanian, and the Baltic and Slav languages), and of the dental sibilant *s* to *š* after the *i* and *u* vowels, after *r*, and after *k*. Further, the original q^w, q^wh, g^w, g^wh, and *q, qh, g, gh* sounds fell together into *k, kh, g, gh*, and these before the original palatal vowels *e* and *i* were palatalised, i.e. developed a *y*-quality—they became *c, ch, j, jh* (or, rather, *k', k'h, g', g'h* i.e., sounds resembling *ky, kyh, gy, gyh,* like the pronunciation of *k, kh, g, gh* in dialectal Gujarati), which are found in Sanskrit as *c (ch* of this origin does not seem to occur in any word in Aryan which has been inherited by Sanskrit), *j*, and *h*. This brought about a great change in the outward phonetic form of the language, its general acoustic effect, in as much as sets of completely new sounds were introduced, and old sets were in this way lost. The change of the original Indo-European velars (or so-called 'palatals') *k̂, k̂h, ĝ, ĝh* to palatal sibilants (changing, for instance, Prim. Indo-European **k̂m̥tom* 'hundred' to *śatam* in Skt., *satəm* in Avestan, *sŭto* in Old Slav, *šimtas* in Lithuanian), has been taken to form a remarkable dividing line between two groups of Indo-European—the Western group where the velars remain as velars and do not become sibilants (Greek, Latin, Germanic, Celtic, Hittite, Tokharian), and the Eastern group, where the sibilant change is found (Aryan, Slav, Baltic, Armenian, Albanian): and the words *centum* (Latin: pronounced *kentum)* and *sat m* (Avestan) are taken as convenient labels to mark the non-sibilantising and the sibilantising groups from each other. These changes transformed an Indo-European sentence like **ĝherisqendrosyo pətērs ek̂wosyo uperi sthətos,* g^w*m̥sk̂onts penq*^{w}*e wl̥qons gheghone* into **z'harišk'andrasya pitarš aśwasya upari sthitas, gak'k'hants pank'a vr̥kāns g'haghāna* (= Skt. *hariścandrasya pitā aśvasya upari sthitaḥ, gacchan pañca vr̥kān jaghāna),* and one like **so ĝeronts swom woik̂om mēlĝti, tr̥nom weĝheti, ĝhutō deiwom yaĝetai,* into something like **sa z'arants*

swam waiśam māržti (māršti), tr̥nam waz'hati, z'hutā daiwam yaz'atai (= Skt. *sa jaran svaṁ vēśam mārṣṭi, tr̥ṇaṁ vahati, hutā* (=*hutēna*) *dēvaṁ yajatē*).

The Indo-Iranian stage was arrived at by about 2000 B.C., and we find the Indo-European language in this second stage of its history in Mesopotamia, among the Mitanni and other peoples, by 1400 B.C. It was the Aryan language in this stage which was carried into Iran. We do not know when a developed form of Aryan poetry first became a noteworthy thing in the language. The names of the Aryan gods *Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra* and the *Nāsatyas* among the Mitanni, and of *Sūrya* among the Kassites, Aryan conquerors of Babylon, would suggest that hymns to these and other Aryan deities were known to the Aryan tribes sojourning in Mesopotamia. But what was the nature of these hymns? Were they like the hymns of the Veda, and similar liturgical literature in the Avesta? This is quite clear, at any rate, that the *Gāyatrī* and a few other metres had developed already in Iran—probably also in Mesopotamia. We have no definite information about Indo-European versification: but some common tags and expressions, which on the face of them appear to be poetic in origin, in the different Indo-European languages, would suggest that some kind of primitive versification was known to the Indo-Europeans. The late Professor Antoine Meillet sought to find out the nature of this versification by comparing Vedic metres with those of the Greek dramas: the Greek hexameter, the oldest Greek meter as in Homer, appears to have been a Greek innovation and not an Indo-European inheritance. From the evidence of Sanskrit (Vedic), Avestan, Old Norse, Old Irish and Early Lithuanian poetry, it would appear that Indo-European versification was stanzaic, and not continuous like the hexameter of Homer. Aryan versification was probably also similarly stanzaic—as a continuation of the Primitive Indo-European tradition, as Vedic shows.

The Aryans came in touch with the greatest civilisation of Asia at the time—in the 2nd millennium B.C.: and a simple

semi-nomadic people as they were, they were tremendously impressed by it. In India we have in the Sanskrit *Purāṇas* references to the high material civilisation, and technical skill in raising buildings, combined with cruelty, of the *Asuras,* usually meaning 'demons'; but it is quite likely that in this word we have a reminiscence of *the people of Aššur*—of Assyria, with whose great architectural achievements as well as ruthlessness in war the Aryans must have had direct contact. Certain elements in Assyro-Babylonian culture appear to have been adopted by the Aryans – like, for instance, the use of an umbrella among royal insignia, and a number of architectural and decorative details which we note in the art of Barhut and Sanchi, which just translate into stone the earlier wood architecture of India with undoubted West Asiatic *motifs.* A few Assyro-Babylonian words which were adopted by the Aryans are found in Vedic—e.g. the word *manā* 'a measure', from the Semitic *minah;* and the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak suggested how names of some serpents featuring in Babylonian legends have found a place in the Atharva Veda in an altered form (*R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume,* Poona, 1917, pp. 33 ff.). In Iran, after the main body of the Aryans were settled for some time, a split occurred among two groups of their tribes. How far original tribal differences were at the basis of this split and how far it was religious in origin, it is not possible to say now. But the Aryans became divided into two groups, the *Dēva (=Daiva)*-worshippers and the *Asura (Ahura) *Mazdhās (Mēdhāḥ-Mazdāo)*-worshippers. In any case, the *Dēva*-worshipping Aryans began to push into India, and, while on their way to India, they had probably to fight their way through the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people of Eastern Iran, right up to the Panjab.

Contact with this non-Aryan people, and natural line of development, brought about further changes into the Aryan's language. It changed slowly from the Aryan or Indo-Iranian form into the Indo-Aryan, which is represented in its latest phase by the language of the Rigveda. Already some grammatical innovations had accentuated the difference between the Indo-European mother-tongue and Aryan: e.g. the use of a new

affix *-ānām* for the genitive plural of nouns ending in vowels, and of the affixes in *-u (-tu, -ntu)* for the 3rd person imperative (traceable elsewhere). In India, and possibly also in Eastern Iran, the language of the Aryan tribes underwent new sets of changes—in phonetics, in grammar, and in vocabulary. The retroflex (cerebral) sounds were developed—this was the most characteristic change in phonetics. This may have taken place either spontaneously within the Aryan language, or what is perhaps more likely, through extraneous non-Aryan influence. Then the Aryan *z, z'* and *ž* sounds were lost or altered. Fresh innovations took place in the grammatical forms, one of the oldest changes in Indo-Aryan being the extension of the first personal termination *-mi* from athematic verbs (of the *ad, rudh* and *hu* classes) to all verbs in the present tense—a characteristic which also developed in the later Avestan, and in Old Persian as well, in the Iranian domain (e.g. Indo-European **ed-mi*=Vedic *ad-mi;* IE. **bher-ō*=Greek *pher-ō,* Latin *fer-ō,* Gothic *bair-a* for **ber-a,* Gatha Avestan *bar-ā,* but Vedic *bhar-ā-mi,* Old Persian *bar-ā-miy;* cf. also Old Church Slav *ber-ą*<**bher-ō+-m).* Lexically, new words were being created and borrowed. In all these ways, *Aryan* or Indo-Iranian became *Indo-Aryan* among those tribes which brought the language into India, and brought with them some at least of the Vedic hymns and the Vedic tradition in religion and culture. These Indian Aryans laid the foundation of that remarkable synthesis of race, religion and civilisation, including a synthesis of speech, which gave to the world the Hindu people and the Hindu religion and civilisation, and with these the Vedic, Sanskrit and Pali speeches of ancient India, and Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Panjabi and other speeches of mediæval and modern India.

LECTURE II

THE NON-ARYAN BACK-GROUND OF INDO-ARYAN AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDO-ARYAN

The Theory of an Aryan Invasion, and its general Acceptance by educated Hindus as elsewhere—the old View of the Aryans as a Civilising People in India—Non-Aryan Contributions to the Formation of Hindu Religion and Culture—the Non-Aryan Background behind the Aryan in India—the Non-Aryan or Pre-Aryan Peoples—the Pre-historic Negritos—a possible Negrito Survival in Indo-Aryan Speech—the Austric Peoples—Spread of the Primitive Austric Speech along the Malay Peninsula and the Islands—the Austronesian Branch of Austric, embracing the Indonesian, Melanesian (with Micronesian) and Polynesian Speeches—the Austro-Asiatic Branch including Mon-Khmer, Khasi, the Kol Dialects, Nicobarese etc.—Austro-Asiatic Bases in North India—Probable Spread of Austric in the Himalayan Regions—the 'Pronominalised Tibeto-Burman' Dialects—Burushaski — Linguistic Character of the Austric Language-Family—Hevesy's Proposal to connect the Kol speeches with the Uralic ones—the Present Situation—the Dravidians—Dravidian Languages—the Dravidians probably a Mediterranean People—Dramiḷa-Draviḍa-Damiḷa-Tamil = Trmmili-Termilai ? — Primitive Dravidian Culture—Old Tamil Literature—Mohen-jo-Daro—Pre-Aryan Sindh and Punjab Culture—the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa Script—Affinities with Western Scripts, and with the Indian Brāhmī—Sindh and South Punjab Culture and its possible Connexion with Dravidian-speaking Peoples — N.-W. India, Iran, Mesopotamia, one Cultural Area in Pre-historic Times—Dravidian Culture and Aryan Expansion—Reasons for successful Spread of the Aryans in the East—Aryan, Dravidian and Austric Ways Contrasted—Conflict between Aryan and Non-Aryan—Beginning of the Absorption of Non-Aryan—Dialects among the Aryans—the Vedic *Kunstsprache*—*r* and *l* in Indo-Aryan—Composition and Transmission of Vedic Hymns—Veda Compilations—Vyāsa—Reduction of the Aryan Speech to Writing—Vedic Aryans and Western Tribes—Puranic Tradition and the Probability of its Pre-Aryan Origin

—Proximity of the Vedic and Gatha Avestan Speeches—Possibility of some Hymns of the Rigveda having been composed in the pre-Vedic Aryan Speech—Traditional Handing down of Speech and Scholarly Effort—Dialects in the *Brahmana* Period—*Udicya, Madhya-desiya* and *Pracya*—the *Pracya* Dialect and change of *r* to *l*—Cerebralisation in the *Pracya* Speech, a Continuation of an earlier Indo-Aryan Phonetic Habit—Spread of Aryan Speech—Linguistic Situation in Northern India at the time of Buddha—Conflict of Ideals and Conflict of Speech—the Employment of the Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects under Buddhist and Jaina Inspiration—the Vedic Brahmans and Sanskrit—Pāṇini—*Chandasa* and *Laukika*—Establishment of Classical Sanskrit.

When the Aryans came into India, the country was not a no-man's land—it was already populated by some races or peoples which had risen to a high level of civilisation. When the theory of an Aryan invasion of India in pre-historic times was first propounded, the educated classes in India who came to know about this theory easily accepted it. The educated classes meant the higher castes among the Hindus, and the Aryan invasion as a theory did not hurt their *amour propre*—they could look upon themselves as the true descendants of the fair-skinned highly civilised Aryan conquerors from Central Asia who brought the light of civilisation to a benighted land of dark-skinned non-Aryan barbarians, and could feel as distant cousins of the European peoples speaking 'Aryan' i.e. Indo-European languages. English historians and others in India showed their acceptance of the theory and patronised the Indian as 'our Aryan brother, the mild Hindu'. The easy acquiescence of the Hindu educated classes in this theory was partly the result of the readiness of the Hindu mind with its freedom from religious dogma to accept any view which appeared reasonable; partly the result of a sense of superiority and aloofness from the lower classes, which came from the disintegrating aspect of the caste system, and from the very great diversity of race and culture which prevented complete welding up of the component elements into one single mass; and partly it was the result of an infe-

riority complex as well, which had to admit defeat from the European in many vital matters, and consequently would find a secret pleasure (a feeling which in their nationalistic moods they would rather not analyse) in finding some kinship with the latter, and in thinking themselves to be the descendants of conquerors and civilisers. But a number of recently discovered facts, and new interpretations of facts previously known, are revealing that it was not the matter of course *veni vidi vici* of a superior white people over uncivilised barbarians in ancient India : it was not that, like the modern Indo-European speakers of Europe, viz. the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch and the English, the ancient Indo-European or Aryan speakers came as the inevitable conquerors and implanted civilisation in India, that all the higher and nobler elements in Hindu civilisation were the gift of the Aryan, and that all that was dark and base and vile was but an expression of an ill-suppressed non-Aryan mentality. The thought and the organising capacity of the Brahman and the Kshatriya of ancient times who represented certain aspects of the Aryan mind, being admitted, the new materials and the new orientation show that the credit for building up Indian civilisation is not the Aryan's alone, but that the non-Aryans in India had a share, too, and that the larger share, in supplying the bases,—the latter in some parts of the country having been in possession of material civilisation far in advance of what the Aryan, who was but a nomadic barbarian in front of the town-dwelling non-Aryan, could show. It is now becoming more and more clear that the non-Aryan contributed by far the greater portion in the fabric of Indian civilisation, and a great deal of Indian religious and cultural traditions, of ancient legend and history, is just non-Aryan translated in terms of the Aryan speech—as it was the Aryan's speech that became the dominant factor, although non-Aryan elements made very large inroads into its purity. To give a brief *résumé* : the ideas of *karma* and transmigration, the practice of *yōga*, the religious and philosophical ideas centering round the conception of the divinity as Śiva and Dēvī and as Viṣṇu, the Hindu ritual of *pūjā* as opposed to the Vedic ritual

of *hōma*,—all these and much more in Hindu religion and thought would appear to be non-Aryan in origin; a great deal of Puranic and epic myth, legend and semi-history is pre-Aryan; much of our material culture and social and other usages—e.g. the cultivation of some of our most important plants like rice and some vegetables and fruits like the tamarind and the coconut, etc., the use of the betel-leaf in Hindu life and Hindu ritual, most of our popular religion, most of our folk crafts, our nautical crafts, our distinctive Hindu dress (the *dhōtī* and the *sāṛī*), our marriage ritual in some parts of India with the use of the vermillion and turmeric—and many other things—would appear to be a legacy from our pre-Aryan ancestors. In our language, as I have said before, we have mainly accepted in the North of India the Aryan's speech, but this speech has been very deeply modified, and that on the lines of the pre-Aryan languages; while in the South the old languages survive, although they have been profoundly influenced by the speech of the Aryan as naturalised in India and as it progressed in the various periods.

A brief survey of the non-Aryan background in India before we take up the narrative of the history of the Aryan speech in the country would be helpful. It has not been found out whether man of some kind originated on the soil of India or not, although very ancient remains of anthropoid apes have been found. As I have mentioned before, the oldest people (among those who are still represented in India) who appear to have come to India were members of a short, black, woolly-haired Negrito race, who probably came overland from Africa along the coastal regions of Arabia and Iran. These Negritos are believed to have been in the palæolithic, or even eolithic, stage of culture, and they did not have a knowledge of agriculture or of cattle-breeding. They probably spread over South India, and even ventured to cross the sea (or was it by land-bridges from Malaya Peninsula, no longer existing now?) and settled in the Andamans Islands. They are found in the Philippines (the Aetas), and in distant New Guinea (the Tapiros). The Negritos seem to have spread from India to Malaya and Sumatra (the Semangs) by way of Assam and Burma, and to the islands beyond

from Malaya and Sumatra. Negrito survivals are said to be found in Southern Balochistan, and their presence in the Deccan and South India can be inferred from some Negrito or Negroid characteristics in some jungle tribes like the Irulas, the Kadirs, the Kurumbas, the Paniyans, etc. Negrito traces have been found among some of the Tibeto-Burman tribes in Assam like the Nagas, who have thus absorbed them. Near about India they survive as a self-contained group, maintaining their own language, as the Andamanese. Except in the case of the Andamanese, the Negritos who survive at the present day in India and Farther India including Malaya everywhere speak debased dialects of the languages used by their more civilised neighbours, Aryan, Dravidian and Austric. The original Negrito speech of India, whatever it was, seemingly survives in Andamanese, which as a language or dialect-group stands isolated. The Negritos, owing to their very primitive stage, had nothing to contribute to the later civilisation of India; they could not hold their own against the more powerful peoples in more advanced stages of culture who came after. Negrito elements, judging from some racial types indicated in Gupta India as in the frescoes of Ajanta, seem to have survived to a very late period; but now it has been almost entirely eliminated. Situated as they were, they were not in a position to influence the languages which came to India subsequently. At least two other linguistic strata covered up Negrito speech—the Austric and the Dravidian, before the Aryan speech came, so nothing appears to have survived. But it may be that here and there a word indicative of some object, some element from the flora or the fauna, has been saved from the total disappearance of Negrito language from the soil of India; and I think one such word may be our Bengali *bāduḍ*='bat' (the basic element is **bād*—the Old Bengali equivalent would be **bād-aḍ-ī*, *-aḍī* being a pleonastic affix with the *-ḍa-* element so common in Apabhraṁśa and New Indo-Aryan: with this **bād*, otherwise unexplained, may be compared Andamanese *wòt-da, wät-da, wòt, wät*='bat', and the element *pet, wet, met, wed, wät, wat* in some of the aboriginal languages of Malaya and Indo-China of

the Austric stock, some of which are spoken by Negrito tribes—e. g. *tra-pet, sa-pet, ham-pet, ša-met, ha-met, ka-wet, ka-wed, gan-ät, kat* <*ka-at (?), kawa* < **ka-wat, uōt).*

The next people to appear on the Indian scene were the Austrics. The Austric speech and the bases of Austric religion and culture appear to have been characterised in Northern Indo-China. Branches of the original Austric people carried their language to the South and East, to Malaya and Indonesia (Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines etc.), and from Indonesia to Micronesia and Melanesia (Caroline Islands, Marshall Is., etc., and the Bismark Archepelago, Solomon Is., Santa Cruz Is., New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Fiji Is., etc.), and to Polynesia (Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Society Islands, Tahiti, Tuamotu Archipelago, Marquesas, New Zealand, Hawaii, Rapa Nui or Easter Island etc.). All these languages spoken in the islands of Indonesia, Micronesia and Melanesia, and Polynesia, form the Austronesian branch of the Austric family. The original Austric stock, which was probably allied to the Mongoloid, was considerably modified in the islands—through intermixture with other races, notably the Negrito race in Micronesia, and with a tall 'Caucasian' race in Polynesia (or, rather, the Polynesians were already in Asia as a mixture of the Austric and an unknown 'Caucasian' race before they sailed through Indonesia into the easternmost islands of the Pacific). Some Austric tribes remained in Indo-China, over which area they spread, and their descendants became the Mons, the Khmers or Cambodians, the Chams, and the lesser known tribes like the Stiengs, the Bahnars, the Paloungs, the Was and others. A group sailed into the Nicobar Islands, and became the Nicobarese. Other groups (e.g. the ancestors of the Khasis, and others) penetrated into India through the Assam valley. Those Austric tribes which came into India and have still preserved their languages—doubtless they had mixed a good deal with other races, Mongoloid, Dravidian, probably also Negrito—are the Khasis of Assam, and the Kol (or Munda) peoples (like the Santals, the Mundaris, the Hos, the Korwas, the Bhumijes, the Kurku, the Soras or Savaras, the Gadabas, etc.).

The Continental Austrics, in contra-distinction to the Island Austrics or Austronesians, are called Austro-Asiatics; and this Austro-Asiatic branch of Austric includes the Mon-Khmer languages (Mon, Khmer and a few other speeches of Indo-China), Khasi of Assam, the Indian Kol (or Munda) languages and dialects, Cham of Cochin-China, Wa and Paloung of Burma, Nicobarese, and the Semang and Senoi (Sakai) dialects spoken by aboriginal Negritos of Malaya.

The Austric tribes of India appear to have belonged to more than one group of the Austro-Asiatic section—to the Kol, to the Khasi, and to the Mon-Khmer groups. They were in the neolithic stage of culture, and perhaps in India they learned the use of copper and iron. They brought with them a primitive system of agriculture in which a digging stick (**lag, lang, *ling*—various forms of an old word **lak*) was employed to till the hill-side. Terrace cultivation of rice on hills, and plains cultivation of the same grain were in all likelihood introduced by them. They brought, as the names from their language would suggest, the cultivation of the coconut *(nārikēla)*, the plantain *(kadala)*, the betel vine *(tāmbula)*, the betel-nut *(guvāka)*, probably also turmeric *(haridrā)* and ginger *(śṛṅga-vēra)*, and some vegetables like the brinjal *(vātiṅgaṇa)* and the pumpkin *(alābu)*. They appear not to have been cattle-breeders —they had no use for milk, but they were probably the first people to tame the elephant, and to domesticate the fowl. The habit of counting by twenties in some parts of North India (cf. Hindi *kōṛī*, Bengali *kuṛi* 'score, twenty,' from the Austric) appears to be the relic of an Austro-Asiatic habit. The later Hindu practice of computing time by days of the moon *(tithis)* seems also to be Austric in origin.

The Austric or Austro-Asiatic tribes spread over the whole of Northern India, right up to the Panjab, and in Central India; they penetrated into the South also. The valleys of the great rivers in Northern India afforded easy places for their settlement; the name of the river Ganges, *Gaṅgā*, would appear to be a Sanskritisation from some ancient Austric word meaning

just a 'river'—a word which is found in Indo-China (in the Sino-Tibetan Dai or Thai speech) as *Khong*, as in *Mè-Không*, i.e. *Mā-Gaṅgā*,='Mother River' (cf. Siamese *Mè-nám*='Mother Water'); and the word is found in Central and South China (originally inhabited by Austric peoples?) as *Kiang*, as in *Yang-tsze-Kiang* and *Si-Kiang* and in numerous other river-names in South China, like *Yu-Kiang, Wu-ni-Kiang, Lung-Kiang, Pe-Kiang, Lo-Kiang, Han-Kiang*, etc.—the Old Chinese pronunciation of the word *Kiang*, dialectally (in Northern Chinese) *Chiang*= 'river', having been **Kang*. (The original meaning of the word *Gaṅgā* is still preserved in the modern Bengali equivalent of it—*gāṅg, gāṅ*, which means 'any river or water-channel'. In Ceylon the word *Gaṅgā* is used with the names of the rivers to the present day. The Chinese language obtained the word **Kang* > *Kiang, Chiang*, in South China, originally inhabited by the Sino-Tibetan Dai or Thai (that is Shan, Siamese and Lao) and Austric peoples, the ancient Chinese (or North Chinese) word for 'river' being *Ho* (=χo), which was in Old Chinese **Gha* (γa). The Thai *Không* is explained as meaning 'impetuous,' 'violent' =Skt. *khara*. One of the old Chinese names for the Mekhong river is *Khiang*, which is evidently a phonetic modification of the Thai *Không*. The Annamites call it *Khoung*. The common Khmer name for the river is *Tonlē-Thom*, which means simply 'Great River', which has been rendered into Sanskrit as *Mahānadī*, beside *Khara-nadī*. The Annamites also call it *Song-lön* meaning 'Great River.'—The Austric peoples had the custom of setting upright rocks or stone slabs as grave-stones. Tree-burial (noted in the Mahābhārata) was one of their customs. Their notions of life after death, viz. that a man had a plurality of souls, and that one soul entered some plant, another some animal, and so forth, probably gave a new line of speculation to the Brahmanical thinkers later on, and suggested the idea of transmigration, which was originally unknown to the Aryans. The masses of Austric speakers in the great plain lands of North India now survive in the Hindu (and Muhammadan) masses of Northern India, retaining a good deal of their original notions in their folk or village cults, although Aryanised in

speech and transformed outwardly. The Austrics were in various stages of cultures, and those who lived in the Central Indian highland, or fled there as a result of Aryan pressure, have remained undeveloped even to-day. They had mixed with the Dravidians who came after them, and with the Aryans. While adopting the Aryan speech *en masse,* it would be natural to expect that certain changes would come into the language of their adoption—and these changes would naturally reflect their original language—in sounds, wherever possible (though this happens rarely) in forms, in syntax (which frequently happens), in idioms and turns of expression, and in words. The Austric dialects in this way supplied one of the back-grounds for the transformation of the Aryan speech in India. In all the points of material culture mentioned above, there is evidence of Aryan borrowing from Austric—apart from subtler and deeper influence of Austric on Aryan phonetics, syntax and idiom.

Austric dialects spread up to the Himalayan regions, and like some of the plains Aryan speeches like Magahi and Maithili, a number of Tibeto-Burman dialects, some 21 in all, like Dhimal, Limbu, Lahuli, Kanauri, etc., which ousted Kol dialects, adopted some of their characteristics as a substratum (the so-called 'Pronominalised Dialects', which, like Kol, incroporate the connected pronouns with the verb, such as we find in Santali and Mundari and the rest). One form of Austric may even have penetrated into the north beyond Kashmir, into the tract forming the present day state of Hunza-Nagyr, where we have Burushaskī, a speech without any relation near by or far away, which, however, shows one or two points of agreement with Austric, and may thus be an old offshoot of it which has followed its own line of development in isolation. The Austric speech may further have gone to the west, beyond the north-western frontier of India. The Austric Speech-Family is a Prefix- Suffix- and Infix-adding group, and in structure it is quite unique, differing in this matter fundamentally from the Indo-European family. The present-day Austric languages have some of them deviated considerably from the original Austric speech—which, however, has not yet been reconstructed. There

are Austric speeches like the Indonesian languages which show a polysyllabic inflexionless structure, although using some prefixes, suffixes and infixes; there are other ones like Mon, Khmer and Khasi which show a tendency to monosyllabism (as if the proximity of the monosyllabic Tibeto-Chinese speeches has helped to bring this about); and the Kol languages of India on the other hand show an elaborate system of suffix-incorporation. The prefixes and infixes, however, remain the fundamental point of differentiation from the suffix-adding Indo-Aryan and the agglutinating Dravidian and Ural-Altaic languages.

For some years past the Hungarian scholar Hevesy Vilmos (William Hevesy, Guillaume de Hevesy, Wilhelm von Hevesy) has been writing on a new theory of the origin of the Kol (or Munda) languages of India. He denies the existence of an Austric Speech-Family embracing languages extending from India to New Zealand, Rapa Nui (or Easter Island) and Hawaii in the Pacific, and according to his opinion the Kol speeches belong to the Ural family of languages, and are thus closely connected with Magyar (Hungarian), Esth and Finn, and Lapp, and Ostyak, Vogul, Cheremis, Ziryen, Votyak, Mordvin and Samoyed speeches of Russia. If this view were correct, then another new element would be added to the pre-Aryan peoples and cultures of India. But the linguistic agreements between the Kol speeches on the one hand and the Ural speeches on the other require to be fully investigated by some trained linguistician well-acquainted with a number of speeches of either group, before an opinion can be given in favour of a connexion between them. The ethnographical and anthropological data adduced by Hevesy in support of this connexion have not been accepted by anthropologists, e.g. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray of Ranchi, who is our greatest authority on the Kol (Munda) peoples of India. Although Pater F. Schmidt, the scholar who established the Austric Family of Speeches, has admitted the possibility of an Uralic influence in the formation of Kol, the affiliation of Kol to the Uralic Speech-Family does not as yet appear to be conclusively proved, and consequently the current

inclusion of Kol within the Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric may be said to hold the field still.

The date when the Austric peoples began to filter into India is not known, but it must have taken place several thousand years B. C., and certainly long anterior to the advent of the Aryans from the west, and probably also to that of the Dravidians from the same direction. The Dravidians seem to have come after the Austrics, or they may have come into India simultaneously, one people from the west, the other from the east; it may even be that they came earlier, before the Austrics. The present-day Dravidian languages stand alone in a group by themselves. Tamil and Malayalam, Kannada, Toda, Kodagu, Tulu, Telugu, Kui, Gond, Kurukh, and Malto are the Dravidian languages now spoken in the interior of India—the South, the Centre and the East; and, besides these, there is Brahui, current round Quetta in Balochistan, an isolated Dravidian speech in the midst or proximity of the Iranian Pashto and Balochi and the Indo-Aryan Sindhi. The agglutinating structure of Dravidian is paralleled by that of the Altaic and the Uralic languages, but in its words and forms, its roots and locutions, Dravidian does not show agreement with any other speech-family near or far. The original Dravidian speakers, according to most recent views, belong to the West. (The arguments in favour of this assumption I have sought to indicate in my paper "Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Civilisation in India" in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, for December 1924). Their original home was in the Eastern Mediterranean region, including certain tracts in Asia Minor (Lycia) and some of the Aegean Islands (Crete): it may be that they were identical with the Aegean people of pre-Hellenic Greece. One of the old names for the Dravidian people was **Dramiẓa,* or **Dramiḷa,* the source of the Indo-Aryan words *Dramiḍa, Draviḍa* and *Damiḷa,* and of the Tamil word *Tamil (Tamiẓ);* and the ancient Lycians of Asia Minor (who called themselves in their inscriptions *Trmmili),* as well as the pre-Hellenic Cretans (from whom were descended the Lycians as colonists from Crete, and who, as Herodotos tells us, I, 173,

were known as *Termilai*, the old name they brought from Crete), seem to have borne the same name which has given us *Dramiḷa, Dramiḍa, Draviḍa, Damiḷa* and *Tamil* (=*Tamiẓ*) in India in successive epochs.

Until recently there was no occasion for speculation about the prehistoric condition of the Dravidian peoples. Bishop Caldwell with the help of pure Tamil words which were not connected with Sanskrit or any other form of Indo-Aryan sought in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* to give a reconstruction of the *milieu* of civilisation among the Primitive Dravidians. The late Professor P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar has similarly applied the methods of linguistic palæontology elaborately in his very valuable *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, given out first as lectures delivered under the auspices of the University of Madras and published in 1930. The Dravidian literatures are all late, and the oldest remains of them already show a great deal of North Indian influence, including Sanskrit words. The traditions of Tamil literature go back to a hoary antiquity, but the extant *Cen-Tamiẓ* or Old Tamil literature of the *Saṅgam* Period cannot be, from the form of the language, anterior to the middle of the 1st millennium A.D., although some of these extant works in their original forms—works like those included in the collections like the *Pattupaṭṭu*, the *Eṭṭuttokai*, the *Patin'eṇkīẓkkaṇakku* (including the *Kur'aḷ*), and the narrative poems like the *Cilappatikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*—may go back to the centuries immediately after Christ. It is indeed a far cry from the age of the early centuries A.D. to the middle and end of the 2nd millennium B.C. when the Aryan came in touch with the Dravidian world in India and outside India.

The discovery by the late Rakhal Das Banerji of Mohen-jo-Daro in 1920, and of other prehistoric sites in Sindh, and the renewed study of the Harappa finds and excavation of Harappa, have opened up a new vista for the cultural and linguistic history of India. The civilisation of a remarkably high type, —with well-planned cities of brick-built houses in more than one story and with underground drainage, with writing as a

widely practised art, with pottery decorated and painted in various styles, with peculiar systems of burial obtaining among the people, with all the paraphernalia of civilised life including dolls for children,—which has been revealed at Mohen-jo-Daro and other places in Sindh and at Harappa in Southern Panjab, has given a shock of surprise to the learned world; and when it began to be suggested that the civilisation which was unfolded there was to be connected not with the Aryans of the Vedas but rather with some non-Aryan people who lived in India before the Aryans came, it was a case of bewildered surprise for most Indian scholars, with whom the Vedic world presented the acme of civilisation in India and the oldest in point of antiquity, nothing more ancient than which could be thought of. Nevertheless the Mohen-jo-Daro (Sindh) and Harappa (South Panjab) culture has continued to be investigated and studied; and since one of the first tentative sketches of this culture was published by the present writer under the inspiration of Rakhal Das Banerji himself in 1924 (in the pages of the *Modern Review* of Calcutta), the sites have been explored, and the magnificent volumes of Sir John Marshall on Mohen-jo-Daro have been published, and only a few weeks ago Mr. Madho Sarup Vats's great work on Harappa accomplished in the same style as the Mohen-jo-Daro volumes have come out. Scholars have taken up the question, and although we are far from solving the riddle of the Mohen-jo-Daro culture and particularly that presented by its script, we have been enabled to draw some permissible conclusions from the finds about the nature and affinities of this pre-historic Sindh-Panjab civilisation.

The Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa script found on hundreds of seals, many of which have little characteristic designs—figures of bulls and other animals mostly, and some of human beings, and various unidentified objects, all having in all likelihood a religious significance—presents several stages, pictorial, hieroglyphic and syllabic. In the absence of a Sindh-Panjab text with a version in a language known to us, it has been impossible so far to decipher the script. I may state here at the outset that such attempts as have been made by some scholars to

read the Sindh-Panjab script straight away have no value in serious epigraphy and linguistics, as much as the wild speculations of Waddel; and Father H. Heras's very self-convinced excursions into the field by reading *Cen-Tamiẓ* or Old Tamil of c. 500 A.D. (itself admitted by linguisticians to be very far removed from the still more ancient Tamil of pre-Christian times) into the inscriptions on Mohen-jo-Daro seals lack all sound philological methods. But one fact seems clear. The Sindh-Panjab script has affinities or resemblances outside India, with the Elamite script and with those of ancient Crete and Cyprus, and it looks very probable that there is a connexion between this very ancient script of India and that prevalent in the Eastern Mediterranean world before the Phœnician script in the form of the Greek alphabet came and put it out of use; and the current view of the origin of the Phœnician script itself looks like being in need of revision—whether it developed out of the demotic form of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, or whether it was a variant or modification of the East Mediterranean script, as found in Crete, for example. Another fact is also becoming clear. In the syllabic non-pictorial form of the Sindh-Panjab script it seems almost certain that the principle obtaining in the Brāhmī alphabet (and its descendants the Gupta, the Dēva-nāgrī, the Bengali, the Grantha and the rest) of tagging on vowel-symbols to consonant-letters also obtained; and the shapes of many of the symbols in the Sindh-Panjab script appear to be like the earlier forms of Maurya Brāhmī of the 4th-3rd century B.C., the resemblances being many and striking. So whatever might have been the origin of the Sindh-Panjab script, it now seems more likely that *it* (and not the Phœnician, either directly or through the ancient South Arabian Sabæan) was the source of the National Alphabet of India—the Brāhmī, the mother of all later forms of Indian script: and this fact is important to consider, for this would establish that the Aryans in India learned the art of writing from their non-Aryan compatriots, or that the people of mixed Aryan and non-Aryan origin adapted the non-Aryan system of writing obtaining in India from the beginning to the Aryan language, which had

become the culture language of the country with the spread of the Aryans over Gangetic India.

The racial and linguistic affinity of the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa people has not been ascertained—although in physical type there is a resemblance to the present-day people of Sindh, and we know nothing definitely about their language. The connexion suggested and tentatively accepted is with Dravidian. Sindh and the Panjab are now Aryan-speaking tracts, but when the Aryans came these tracts might have well been Dravidian-speaking. Sindh was looked upon as an impure land inhabited by mean or low peoples *(saṅkara-jātayaḥ)* as late as the early pre-Christian centuries, for instance: the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtras* enjoin a penance on North Indian Aryans visiting the land. The assumption that Sindh was Dravidian-speaking receives a good support when we consider the fact that the Brahuis still are in the neighbourhood of Sindh, in Balochistan, speaking a Dravidian language, and the Brahuis may thus very well be a remnant of the Mohen-jo-Daro people. The Dravidians, apart from the Mohen-jo-Daro context, have been suggested as being a Mediterranean people. The Mohen-jo-Daro civilisation shows noteworthy Mediterranean and West Asian affinities. The wide tract of country from Sindh and Panjab through Balochistan (Nal) and North-eastern Iran (Anau), and Elam in Western Iran, as well as Sumerian Chaldea, show in pre-historic times one type of culture, or, rather a group of cultures with some common elements. The probability of the same *Dāsa-Dasyu (*Dāha-Dahyu)* people living in Sindh, Panjab and Eastern Iran has to be taken into consideration. All these would make it a plausible assumption that it was the Dravidians who had built up the great city cultures of the Panjab and Sindh before the Aryans came. Whether this assumption is correct or not will be settled finally only when we can read the Mohen-jo-Daro script, and when the language is proved to be the source or an early form of the present-day Dravidian languages. It will not do to read Old Tamil straight away into the inscriptions on this assumption, as Father Heras is doing.

We have thus this likelihood that when the Aryans came,

the North Indian plains were inhabited by Dravidian and Austric peoples, the former, as the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people, predominating in the North-West and the West, the latter in the Midland and the East: we do not know the exact situation for the South. The Dravidians were city-builders, and they were the greater organisers in peaceful life. They also were a cattle-breeding people, like the Aryans, and unlike the Austrics. Certain cults and rituals, certain philosophical and other notions, and certain forms of mystic religion including *Yōga* practices, appear to have originated among them. The very Indian characteristic of computing on the basis of *sixteen* also appears, as the late Professor Mark Collins quite plausibly suggested, to be of Dravidian origin. Probably the caste-system had its germs among them. The conception of the Deity as Śiva and Umā, with the figure of Śiva as the great *Yōgī* and the 'Master of Animals' (*Paśupati*), was a Dravidian conception to start with, and in all likelihood it was identical with the *Teśup-Hepit* or the *Ma-Atthis* cult of Asia Minor. (See in this connexion Dr. Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri's paper "Prototypes of Śiva in Western Asia," in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1940, the Indian Research Institute, pp. 301-304.) The Mother aspect of the Divinity was also a characteristic thing in Minoan, pre-Hellenic Greece. In spite of their high culture, the Mohen-jo-Daro people were perhaps not strong in warfare, but their massive city walls and their imposing cities (probably for some time at least) frightened and kept away the Aryans: it is to be noted that the Aryans at first did not seek to expand from North-western Panjab to the South along the course of the large navigable river they found—the Indus, but left the South Panjab and Sindh city-peoples alone, and pushed along the Land of the Five Rivers into the Gangetic plains. In the East they anticipated and probably met with less resistance, as the people there were (in greater likelihood) the milder and weaker, and less strongly organised Austrics. These Austrics, excepting for a few Cyclopian strongholds in Bihar (Rajagriha—Rajgir) and in Central India, do not appear to have built any town. Their culture was pre-eminently a village

and not a city culture. In any case, there was, as can be assumed, absence of homogeneity and absence of cohesion, among Austrics and Dravidians, and possibly among Austrics themselves. A masterful people, weak in material civilisation, but strong in warlike qualities and in discipline, in experience of other races and in practical sense, could make a piece-meal conquest of such groups : this was unquestionably the Aryan's great opportunity, in making at least an outward conquest, and in impressing his own stamp upon the more malleable, less resisting 'natives'. But the comparative paucity of the Aryan in numbers, and the necessity of his conforming to the established mode of life as a result of the climate, thereby gradually making him abandon more and more his extraneous Aryan mode of life and his original character, was his ultimate undoing as an Aryan and a foreigner, leading to his quick or slow but ultimately inevitable Indianisation. The Aryan came with his horse-chariot, with his flocks and herds, and with his *grāma* or wandering clan. He worshipped his gods who were anthropomorphised forces of nature by offering them the good things he enjoyed—barley bread, meat, milk and butter, and *sōma*-juice,–as a burnt offering *(hōma)*. Already he had imbibed from the Asia Minor and Assyrio-Babylonian peoples some notions of their religions, some of their legends (e.g. the story of the flood): his national god Indra took up some of the characteristics of the Babylonian god Marduk, who fought the cloud-serpent, for instance. The Dravidian knew the horse, but probably he relied more on the bullock-cart than on the horse-chariot for locomotion : he lived by agriculture by cattle rearing, and by fishing ; and his gods he worshipped by offering flower and sandal or other aromatic paste (by the ritual akin to the later Hindu *pūjā)*, conceiving these gods to be manifestations of a Supreme Spirit pervading the universe. From the beginning the Aryan (and Indo-European) social organisation was patriarchal, but among the Dravidians it appears on the contrary to have been matriarchal.

The Austric peoples followed their simple life based on primitive agriculture in their little settlements, and the symbols

of their gods, who were individual spirits good and bad, in the shape of crude figures or blocks of stone, they sprinkled or smeared with the blood of the sacrificed animal or with vermillion and other red dye as a substitute. In a primitive society and in a land of plenty, these peoples had (to judge from the subsequent character of the Indian temperament) developed a certain amount of tolerance and had accepted the philosophy of "live and let live."

Such was the atmosphere in which the Aryan found himself, when fighting through the *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* of Eastern Iran he descended through the Indo-Afghan passes from the highlands of Afghanistan into the plains of the Panjab. His first contact with the original people of the country must have been hostile: there were *saṅgrāmas* or 'gatherings' of his 'clans,' and there were *dasyu-hatyās* or 'battles with the *Dasyus,*' in which he invoked the aid of his national gods, Indra, Agni, the Maruts and the rest. Probably in the Panjab was the fiercest resistance, and in the Panjab too was the biggest settlement of the Aryans: in any case, the Panjab formed the *nidus* of the Aryans in India, and, under the name of *Udīcya* or 'the Northern Country,' boasted of the purest Aryan speech and the bluest Aryan blood (the *Udicca* i.e. *Udīcya Brāhmaṇas* of Pali and other ancient Indian literature have always a pride of birth admitted by others without question); and the comparative purity of the Aryan language in the Panjab area is fully borne out by the evidence of the Asoka inscriptions in the 3rd century B.C., and later. The bulk of the Aryan settlers came to be known as the *Viśas*; later, their fighting aristocracy as *Rājanyas* or *Kṣatriyas,* and their wise men as *Brāhmaṇas.* The conquered non-Aryan *Dāsas* were either made into slaves, or were left to carry on the humbler pursuits of life as *Śūdras.* Probably from the beginning with change of language (or the acquirement of the Aryan language) the agricultural classes and the aristocracy among the non-Aryans were admitted within the Aryan fold: and their priests also when they accepted the great Aryan gods and the fire-ritual—the *hōma*—were given the status of Brahmans.

The Aryans came in clans, and their language had dialectal differences from clan to clan, which appear at first to have been only slight. There had grown up among them a *Kunstsprache* or artistic speech used in their prayers and songs which formed the only literature they had, and this is what we find in the Rig (and the Atharva) Veda. There was also in all likelihood a linguistic continuity from the Panjab to Western Persia after the first settlement of the Aryans in the former place. The border-land dialects (i.e. the western dialects of Indo-Aryan) agreed with Iranian in some matters. The basis of the Rigveda literary speech was shown by Professor Antoine Meillet to have been a western dialect in the Aryan-speaking tracts. This basic dialect of the Vedic speech had only the *r* sound—Indo-European *r* and *l* both featuring in it as *r*—as in Iranian (Old Persian and Avestan). It preferred a weaking of intervocal or interior *dh bh gh* to *h* (e.g. **yaz'āmadhai* of Indo-Iranian or Aryan giving in this dialect *yajāmahē,* as opposed to Avestan *yazāmaiδe).* The matter of *r* and *l* formed an important point in dialectal diversity in the Old Indo-Aryan speech. There was thus one dialect—that of the West, which had no *l,* but only *r.* There was another, which seems to be represented by Classical Sanskrit and Pali in this matter, which had both *r* and *l.* And there was a third dialect of Indo-Aryan which eliminated the *r* and possessed only *l* : this dialect was probably of the extreme East, and it was pushed on further into the interior of the country as far as Eastern United Provinces and Bihar Province of the present-day, before the second stage of Aryan expansion and Aryan linguistic development, and became the Asokan Eastern Prakrit (which is believed to be the older form of the Ardha-māgadhī Prakrit of the Jainas) and the later Māgadhī Prakrit, both of which had no *r* but only *l.* Thus the Indo-European word **k̂rəi-lo-* became in Aryan **śrī-la,* and this occurs in three forms in Indo-Aryan—*śrī-ra* (cf. Avestan *srī-ra),* *śrī-la* and *ślī-la.*

Dialectal differences like the above may well have started from pre-Indian times. When the Aryans came into India, they undoubtedly brought with them a number of hymns and

other poetry. The tradition continued in India: and when non-Aryan speakers joined the Aryan fold, it may be supposed that their poets also essayed hymns in this ready-made literary speech. In this way the floating mass of oral literature grew in extent, and the custody of this literature gradually fell into the hands of an organised priesthood, who formed little or big schools in villages or village-settlements on the outskirts of forests, where systematically the hymns were memorised and the ritual was learnt by young Aryans intending to join the priesthood. It is not unlikely that in the building up of this *āśrama* school tradition, the civilised Dravidians had something to contribute, as they had their own culture and sacred lore to preserve. But when there was no recording of literature in writing, unconscious change in language was inevitable. In this way, some hymns which might have been composed by the Aryans outside India during the Indo-Iranian period, say 1500 or 1800 B.C., would change in language in transmission from generation to generation as the language itself changed, without anybody being aware of it; and finally when it was written down, its language would be quite different from its original form. A hymn composed a short while before it was written down, and a hymn composed some hundreds of years before that, would both show almost a similar form of speech, if that earlier hymn never lost its general intelligibility through the generations, even though it was altered in its forms of a necessity as the language itself was slowly and imperceptibly altering.

The question becomes one of vital importance—when were the Veda compilations made? These compilations could never be achieved without the help of writing: and the reduction of the Aryan speech into writing, and the compilation of the floating mass of hymns which were first written down into the four Veda books, went hand in hand. The reputed legendary compiler of the Vedas was Vyāsa, 'the Arranger.' He was an elder contemporary of the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava heroes, according to the Mahābhārata and Puranic traditions. It is not known how far the Mahābhārata battle was a historic event. Various dates (ranging from the traditional beginning of the Kali Age at

3101 B.C., downwards) have been proposed for this event. A favourite date is 15th century B.C. This topic would be quite beside the mark for our present purpose, but I accept the view arrived at by independent lines of research by F. E. Pargiter (in his "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition," Oxford University Press, 1922) and by Professor H. C. Ray Chaudhuri (in his "Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty", 4th ed., Calcutta University, 1938), that the 10th century B.C. was the period when some of the Mahābhārata characters who appear to be historical flourished, e.g. King Parikshit. This date, c. 950 B.C., would accord very well with our reading of the development of Indian history and culture and of the Aryan speech in India. It was probably in the 10th century B.C. that the Ancient Sindh-Panjab script of the non-Aryans (? Dravidians) was adapted for the Aryan speech; and the development of this script (as is the case with all new alphabets in the initial stages) down to Maurya Brāhmī of the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. may well have taken six or seven hundred years; and even then Brāhmī orthography was not a perfect (but in some matters rather an incomplete) system of writing. The perfect orthography of Brāhmī as applied to Sanskrit may thus have taken 800 to 1000 years to develop. Judging from the very imperfect and frequently merely mnemonical character of primitive scripts, particularly when they are applied to a new language (witness, for example, the use of Sumerian cuneiform for the Semitic Akkadian, and of the finished Sumero-Babylo-Assyrian for Hittite, or in later times the use of the Chinese characters for the Si-hia language of Central Asia, of a modified Syrian for Sogdian, of a modified Phœnician in the form of Kharoshṭhī for the North-Western Prakrit with its close affinity to Sanskrit of the centuries round about Christ), it would be permissible to hold that the primitive Indo-Aryan script of the 10th century B.C.—a sort of Proto-Brāhmī,—was only a clumsy way of indicating the sounds of Vedic as current or as spoken at that time. Good, bad, or indifferent, without some system of writing the Vedic compilations could not conceivably have been made.

During the second half (including the closing centuries) of the 2nd millennium B.C., there was considerable movement of peoples in the Near East, and Indo-European speaking tribes both of the *Centum* class (the Hittites, the Primitive Greeks) and of the *Satəm* class (the Aryans) were being borne along this current of racial migration and conflict. About 1229 B.C., as we find from ancient Egyptian records, during the fifth year of the Pharaoh Mern-ptah the son of Ramses II, Egypt was invaded by the Libyans, and as the allies of the latter came to Egypt several tribes, the *Akaywaša,* the *Ruku,* the *Turuša,* the *Śakarša* and the *Śardena.* All these were utterly defeated by the Egyptian king. These tribes are described as "Northlanders" and as being "from the lands of the sea". They are now identified with some tribes, Indo-European and non-Indo-European, living in Asia Minor and the Greek islands and mainland at the time. The *Akaywaša* were the ancient Greeks, known to Homer as the *Akhaioi* or the *Achæans ;* the *Ruku* were the Lycians *(Lukoi)*—of non-Indo-European origin ; the *Turuša* and the *Śardena* were the Tyrsenians and Sardinians who were living in Asia Minor (the Tyrsenians or Tuscans and the Sardinians were Asia Minor peoples originally, who migrated into Italy and into the island of Sardinia and settled there); the *Śakarša* were identified with the Sicels who gave to Sicily its name,—but that is disputed; they were evidently an Asia Minor tribe. In 1192 B.C., Ramses III defeated another coalition of Northern invaders, the *Purasati,* the *Wašaša,* the *Takrui,* and the *Danauna.* Of these, the *Purasati* are identified with the Philistines who were originally from Crete, and the *Danauna* were the Homeric *Danaoi,* i.e. ancient Greeks ; while the other two tribes have not been satisfactorily identified. Now, in Rigveda VII, 18, in the celebrated hymn by Vasiṣṭha describing the successful fight of the Aryan King Sudās of the *Tṛtsu* clan with a confedaracy of hostile tribes, Aryan and non-Aryan, on the soil of India, we find a mention of the following tribes : *Turvaśas, Matsyas, Bhṛgus, Druhyus, Pakthas, Bhalānas, Alinas, Śivas, Viṣāṇins, Vaikarṇas, Anus, Ajas, Śigrus,* and *Yakṣus.* We have very little or no idea about

these tribes. My friend Mr. Hārīt Krishna Deb, well-known as an Indologist, suggested that the *Yakṣus* and *Śigrus* should be looked upon as the same tribes as the *Akaywaša* and the *Sakarša* of the Egyptian record, and that *Turvaśa* is to be explained as a composite tribal name, being made up of a confederacy of the *Tura* or *Turva* tribe and the *Vaśa* tribe which are mentioned elsewhere in Vedic texts; in Rigveda VII, 18, the *Matsya* tribe is mentioned in proximity with *Turvaśa,* and in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* IV, the *Matsyas* are similarly connected with the *Vaśa* tribe—the *Turva* or *Tura* tribe and the *Vaśa* tribe recall *Turuša* and *Wašaša* of the Egyptian records as above (Hārīt Krishna Deb, "Vedic India & Minoan Men," pp. 177-184, *Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger,* Leipzig, 1931). If all this identification is correct, then it would appear that some tribes of Asia Minor peoples who became prominent in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. came to India along with the main bodies of the Aryans: the Indo-European Akhaians, prototypes of the later Greeks; the *Sakarša,* and the *Turša,* who were probably non-Aryan and non-Indo-European to start with, but who might have become Aryan in speech; and the *Wašaša=Vaśa* tribe who were perhaps Aryan from the beginning. The *Purasati* Mr. Deb identifies with the *Pulastyas* mentioned in the Yajurveda who wore their hair plain, as opposed to the *Kapardins,* who wore their hair in braids and among whom were the Aryan *Tṛtsu* clan to which Vasiṣṭha belonged. Mr. Deb has further suggested that the *Kapardins* were the same as the *Caphtors* of the Jewish Old Testament and the *Keftiu* (=Cretans?) of the Egyptian records, who also are represented in art as wearing long braids of hair. In any case, it will not be assuming too much if we look upon the Aryans while settling down in India still keeping the door open for tribes from the west, either their own Indo-European kinsmen, or the kinsmen of the Dravidians, and entering into friendly or hostile relations with them as they were becoming Aryanised and Indianised like themselves. The hymn of Vasiṣṭha, describing Sudās's battle with these alien or half-alien tribes in India, therefore, from the identifications suggested above, could not be a composition earlier than the 12th

century B.C. The compilation of the Vedic hymns thus could very well be later than this century; and 10th century B.C. would meet this perfectly.

Those of us who are accustomed to look upon 2000 B.C. or earlier as the likely age for the Vedic period in India and who pin their faith on Puranic chronology or on Puranic dynastic lists would naturally object to these unexpectedly late dates for the Aryan invasion of or advent into India and to their incompatibility with the hoary antiquity insisted upon by Puranic traditions. A good deal of the Puranic traditions may indeed go back to very ancient times; but that would not in the least be incompatible with the postulation of a late epoch for Aryan invasion, when we take into note not the mere possibility but the extreme probability or likelihood of the Puranic tradition being with reference to pre-Aryan times—to non-Aryan Dravidian (and Austric) kings and dynasties. This tradition in legends and stories was later on Aryanised; that is, was rendered into the Aryan language, Prakrit and Sanskrit, after the peoples among whom these traditions grew had themselves become Aryanised; and in that process there was the inevitable commingling of the legends and traditions of two races united by one language, a commingling which has now become well-nigh inextricable. Such a thing has happened frequently enough in the history of man, wherever two distinct peoples have merged into one. Sir Arthur Evants, the great archæologist who excavated the pre-Indo-European Minoan culture of Crete, had expressed his opinion that many of the distinctive Greek myths of the gods and Greek legends of heroes, e.g. of the personages connected with the Iliad story, were really pre-Indo-European in origin—they were adopted into the fabric of Greek life after the pre-Indo-European Aegean people and the Indo-European Hellenes (the Achæans, the Danaans, the Dorians etc.) were fused into one people—the Greeks of history; and this opinion proved to be correct when Minoan artifacts giving the story of Oidipous, that of Persephonē, and the figure of Artemis the huntress were discovered on the mainland of Greece. In Java the people had become Hindus and Buddhists by the 1st half of the 1st mil-

lennium A.D., and in their Hinduism and in the legends of Hindu gods and heroes from India which they accepted, certain native Indonesian elements entered (e.g. the *Sĕmar*—three attendants who always follow Arjuna); and later when they became Muhammadans, Islamic legend was grafted on Brahmanical *Purāṇa,* Śiva e.g. being retained, but only as a descendant of Adam. The Usir-Ist legend of ancient Egypt was similarly Hellenised as the legend of Osiris-Isis to suit the Greek rulers of Egypt, and then it was passed on the Roman world. The legends and traditions of the country, even when there is some disturbance of the population, seldom die out—they survive in altered dress; the names are modified to suit the phonetics of the new language into which they are adopted; and sometimes these names are translated—the names of both gods and heroes. When there is racial fusion, this thing is inevitable. To reconcile ancient Indian tradition of very high antiquity suggesting dates beyond 1500 B.C., with the movement of the Aryan people in Mesopotamia, Iran and India during 2000-1000 B.C., this assumption of the non-Aryan origin becomes inevitable; so that a good deal of the *Sūrya-vaṁśa* and *Candra-vaṁśa* i.e. Solar and Lunar dynastic legends can be looked upon as myth or legend stuff, pre-Aryan in origin, but later Aryanised. Sometimes an unexplained discrepancy between a Sanskrit and a Prakrit form should give us food for thought: why should *Okkāka,* for instance, be the Pali equivalent of *Ikṣvāku,* the famous king of the Solar line according to Puranic tradition?

The agreement between the language of the older portions of the Avesta, viz. the Gāthās *(Gāθās),* ascribed to Zarathushtra (*Zaraθuštra,* c. 7th century B.C.?), and the Old Persian inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings (from 6th century B.C.) on the one hand, and Vedic on the other, is so very close that they cannot be taken very far from each other in their chronology. Of course, all languages do not show the same rate of change; there are conservative languages which resist change, and there are progressive ones which go in for innovation readily, and are altered very quickly. But Gathic and Vedic appear like twin

sisters, and Vedic cannot go back to 2000 B.C., as the Aryan language (i.e. the pre-Vedic and pre-Gathic source-speech) is still, as we can conclude from the evidence (meagre though it is) of the Mesopotamian and Asia Minor documents, one language, as yet not split up into Iranian and Indo-Aryan.

But if the Veda compilations were written down in the 10th century B.C., nothing could prevent hymns written two or four or even eight hundred years before, within India or outside India, from being included in them. We do not know the date of Rishi Madhucchandas, the author of the first hymn of the Rigveda Saṁhitā, nor that of Viśvāmitra, who composed the celebrated *Gāyatrī* verse: we find the verses ascribed to them as they were current at the time of their being taken down in writing; but if they were actually composed four or five hundred years before the time of compilation, then their forms were very different from what we have now, in the received text. Thus,

agnim īḷē (īḍē) purōhitaṁ
yajñasya dēvam ṛtvijaṁ
hōtāraṁ ratna-dhātamam

would be, some centuries before the period for its compilation in the Rigveda as suggested above, in something like this form:

**agnim izdai puraz-dhitam*
yaz'nasya daivam ṛtwiz'am
z'hœutāram ratna-dhātamam

and the *Gāyatrī* verse—

tat savitur varēṇyam
bhargō dēvasya dhīmahi
dhiyō yō naḥ pra cōdayāt

would present a form like

**tat sawituž warainiam*
bhargaz daiwasya dhīmadhi
dhiyaz yaz nas pra k'audayāt.

After the Vedic texts were first copied down, they have been preserved for these three thousand years with meticulous

care. The oldest Vedic Mss. extant are not even a thousand years old, from now, but the Vedic tradition in India has preserved intact substantially the same text as was current three thousand years ago and more. The Aryans brought their language, and possibly also a portion of the literature of hymns which it possessed, as an inheritance from their Indo-European ancestors, and this inheritance would appear to have been remarkably well-preserved by the Aryan invaders or immigrants, without much conscious effort on their part. But in India, what was at first the spontaneous generation-to-generation transmission of a language, retaining its fundamental traits, became translated to the plane of a scholastic attainment, as the spoken language changed from the Vedic norm, and as alien peoples began to adopt the Aryan speech. The result was that scholarly effort came in, and the text, with a view to preserve it correctly, was sometimes modified in its orthography in accordance with certain theories which took the place of traditional continuance. The discrepancies between Vedic orthography (fixed at a much later period) and Vedic orthoëpy during the earliest period of its history have been noted by scholars who have studied, e.g. Vedic metre: a study will be found in Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's excellent "Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit" (Calcutta 1937), pp. 48–69.

The Vedic *Kunstsprache* apart (which, from after the compilation of the hymns in the Veda books, became a book-language, to be carefully studied), the spoken dialects of Indo-Aryan started their course of development in India. The Aryan language progressed eastwards. By the time that Buddha was born in Nepal Tarai above North Bihar and lived and preached in what are now Bihar and Eastern United Provinces, it had spread as far as Videgha or North Bihar and Magadha or South Bihar. Great changes were manifesting in it in the meanwhile, particularly in the East. During the period 1000 –600 B.C., which is the date of the most ancient *Brāhmaṇa* works, we find occasional references in literature to linguistic conditions in India. It would appear that the spoken forms of the Aryan speech fell into three groups: (1) *Udīcya* or North-

ern (or North-western), (2) *Madhya-dēśīya* or Midland, and (3) *Prācya* or Eastern. This was the age of the great Aryan-speaking states of North India, from the Afghan frontier to Bengal. The dialect of the *Udīcya* tract, corresponding roughly to the present-day North-West Frontier Province and Northern Panjab, was highly thought of, and it maintained a conservative character, continuing to be nearest to the Old Indo-Aryan standard. A *Brāhmaṇa* text (the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa)* says that "in the *Udīcya,* speech is uttered with greater discrimination; they go to the *Udīcya* people to learn speech; whoever returns from there, him people wish to hear" *(tasmād Udīcyām prajñātatarā vāg udyatē: udañca u ēva yanti vācaṁ śikṣituṁ; yō vā tata āgacchati, tasya vā śuśrūṣanta iti*: Śāṅkhāyana or Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, VII, 6). The dialect of Prācya was the one current in what is now Oudh and Eastern U. P., and probably also Bihar. This dialect was current among the *Vrātyas* who were wandering Aryan-speaking tribes who did not owe allegiance to the Vedic fire-cult and the Brahmanic social and religious organisation; and the Prācyas or Easterners were also described as being *āsurya* or demoniac, i.e. barbarian and hostile in nature for whom the Vedic Aryans had no great love. The *Vrātyas,* says the Brāhmaṇa, "call a sentence difficult to utter, when it is not difficult to utter"; and, "although they are not initiated (i.e. into the Vedic religion), they speak the speech of the initiated" *(a-dur-ukta-vākyaṁ dur-uktam āhuḥ; a-dīkṣitā dīkṣita-vācaṁ vadanti*: Tāṇḍya or Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, XVII, 4). This may legitimately be interpreted to mean that compound consonants and other phonetic traits which characterised the Aryan speech they found difficult to utter, unlike the Aryan speakers of the Midland and the North-West who were building up the Vedic religion and culture; or, in other words, it may be permitted to assume that they had developed Prakrit habits of speech in which conjunct consonants were assimilated. There is nothing positive mentioned about the language of the Midland, but it evidently steered a middle course between the conservative extreme of *Udīcya* or the North-West on the one hand and the loose slip-shod pronunciation of the *Prācya* or the East

on the other. The Brâhmaṇa story, repeated by the sage and grammarian Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (2nd cen. B.C.), of the Asuras (presumably of the East) that they mispronounced the Sanskrit word *arayaḥ* (= 'the enemies') as *alayō* or *alavō,* is an evidence of the notice which the western people took of the eastern habit of pronouncing *r* as *l.*

In the next stage of Indo-Aryan—the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan stage, we find that the Eastern dialect had not only marked itself off from the Western speech by assimilating consonants and by changing *r* in all cases to *l,* but also by showing cerebralisation of a dental preceded by *r* or *ṛ :* thus, Indo-Aryan *kṛta, artha, ardha,* became in the *Prācya* speech *kaṭa, aṭṭha, aḍḍha,* whereas in the Midland these words changed to *kata* (or *kita), attha* and *addha* without cerebralisation; and in the *Udīcya* it remained for a long time *kṛta, artha* and *ardha,* and finally when the Udīcya dialect did assimilate the *r,* it did not cerebralise the dentals. This cerebralisation as I pointed out in my "Origin and Development of the Bengali Language" (Calcutta University, 1926, pp. 483 ff.) was connected with the Eastern habit of changing *r* to *l.* In the change of Indo-Iranian to Indo-Aryan, *r*+*t* of Indo-European and Indo-Iranian remained *rt* in Indo-Aryan, but *l*+*t* of Indo-European gave *ṭ* in Indo-Aryan: thus, Indo-European **mṛto-, *bhertēr-* gave Indo-Iranian **mṛta-, bhartār-,* whence Indo-Aryan *mṛta-, bhartā ;* but Indo-European **g̑hḷto-qo-m, *qulthēros* (through Indo-Iranian **z'hḷtakam, *kulthāras)* gave Indo-Aryan (Skt.) *hāṭakam, kuṭhāraḥ.* Now, Indo-Aryan *r* in all cases became *l* in the Eastern dialect; so that, like *rājā* becoming *lājā,* and *kṣīra, khīla,* the Indo-Aryan (Vedic Sanskrit) *mṛta-, bhartā* changed to **mḷta-, *bhaltā ;* and by the continuance of the operation of the old phonological law of changing *lt* to *ṭ,* these became *maṭa, bhaṭṭā* in the Eastern form of Indo-Aryan. (Thus cerebralisation in the Eastern Prakrit was different in character from that observable in Modern Norwegian and Swedish, in which original Scandinavian *rt, rd,* have developed directly the retroflex or cerebral pronunciation of *ṭ* and *ḍ* respectively.) Words like *bhadra, kṣudra* similarly first became **bhadla, *kṣudla,* and then *bhalla,*

kṣulla > *khulla* by assimilation. Northern India, being a land of continuous plains with unhindered movement of population,—from west to east generally, and occasionally from east to west as well,—the forms peculiar to one dialect could be carried into another; and hence there began from very early times inter-dialectal mix up without any restriction; and this becomes a matter for special attention in studying the history of any Aryan speech. When the Vedic hymns were being written down, eastern forms with *l* and with *ṭ* (*ḍ*) had found their way into the texts of the hymns :—e.g. *vikaṭa* <*vikṛta*, *kīkaṭa* < *kiṁ-kṛta*, *nikaṭa* <*nikṛta*, *daṇḍa* < **dandra* (cf. Greek *dendron*), *aṇḍa* < **andra* (cf. Old Church Slav *iędro*: this word however may be Dravidian in origin, cf. Tamil *aṇ*='male'), √*paṭh* < √*prath*, √*ghaṭ* < *grath*, *kāṭa* < *karta* 'pit', *āḍhya* < √*ṛdh*, *kṣulla* < **kṣudla* < *kṣudra*, etc.

The Second Stage of Indo-Aryan, with assimilation of conjunct consonants and other changes, was thus fully arrived at first in the East. In the meanwhile the language in its dialectal forms was expanding rapidly. There were at first just islands of Aryan speech in some important centres, the Aryans having established themselves among the non-Aryans whom they conquered; but like a fire eating up a piece of stuff, the Aryan language was making a sweeping advance from the Panjab, gaining momentum as it gathered more and more non-Aryan speakers within its fold. The non-Aryan speeches gradually became confined in upper Gangetic India to some circumscribed centres, surrounded by Aryan speech. It was like what we find at the present day in parts of Chota Nagpur and Assam, for instance. In the Pāli *Jātaka* we read of *Caṇḍāla* villages, inhabited by members of this very ancient tribe, probably of Austric origin, where the *Caṇḍālas* spoke their own tongue, but they learned the language of the proud Brahman also.

At the time of Buddha, the linguistic situation for the Aryan speech in Northern India was somewhat like the following:

1. Three Aryan dialects, spoken in (a) *Udīcya*, (b) *Madhya*-

dēśa, and (c) *Prācya.* The *Udīcya* was still nearest the Vedic, while the *Prācya* had deviated from it most. Non-Aryan influences were coming into force in all of these.

2. *Chāndasa* or the archaic or old-fashioned dialect of Vedic poetry, which was studied in the schools of the Brahmans, representing the literary form of the oldest Indo-Aryan.

3. A more recent form of (2), or an archaic form of the *Udīcya* vernacular, with elements from *Madhya-dēśa* and *Prācya* dialects. This was the polite language of intercourse and instruction among the Brahmans, who were writing their explanatory comments on Vedic texts and their theological and philosophical speculations in this dialect, which we find in the *Brāhmaṇas.*

Besides, there were the Dravidian and Austric dialects, spoken in out-of-the-way tracts, and probably also in the countryside among the lower classes, which were giving place to Aryan.

The *Prācya* dialect had deviated so very much from the *Chāndasa* standard, and from the younger form of *Chāndasa* as in the *Brāhmaṇas,* that a person hailing from *Udīcya* would find some difficulty in following the *Prācya* speech. Hence two Brahman disciples of Buddha suggested that the teachings of their master should be translated into the learned man's tongue, the old tongue—viz. *Chāndasa,* from the very debased vernacular of the East. But Buddha refused, and gave his great charter to all the languages of man: he recommended that men should study his word "each in his own language" *(sakāya niruttiyā).* This gave a great impetus to the literary employment of the spoken languages, and it was indeed a movement of a revolutionary character for the freedom of the spirit, the full implication of which was not wholly grasped, nor taken advantage of at the time. Vernacular literature at once came into being in the various dialects—through Buddhist as well as Jaina inspiration; and in this movement there was probably a feeling of setting up the vernaculars against *Chāndasa* or *Brāhmaṇa*

Sanskrit, as the language of Brahman orthodoxy which based itself on the Vedic sacrifice, elaborated far too much for the interest of ordiniary individuals and gradually losing its former primitive significance. A conflict of ideals centred round this conflict of speeches. The Brahman was developing his philosophy of the Upanishads, which, as the name shows, was meant for the *élite ;* and as he chose to have a cultured audience (in that spirit of haughty aloofness which frequently stiffens the mental make up of the intellectual individual) from his own people and from the exalted classes, ignoring the masses, he preferred to employ the learned tongue. But the spirit of change was too much for the Brahman schools even : the language he used in the centuries before Buddha took a colouring from the rapidly changing vernaculars, and this colouring could not be avoided. For the dialects of the East, so much aberrated, the Brahman could not feel any affection or interest : even while in the East, he looked back to the West, the first homeland of the Vedic culture, the upper classes of which formed the *fons et origo* of Aryandom, where the best form of Aryan speech was heard. And fortunately for him and his beloved language, a great grammarian arose in the North-West where the spoken dialects were still sufficiently near to the *Chāndasa* and the *Brāhmaṇa* norm both in phonetics and grammatical forms as to be looked upon as identical with it—as a *Laukika* i.e. 'popular' or 'current' form of it. This *Laukika* speech had also been affected by the vocabulary and the idiom of the vernaculars. Pāṇini was born at Lahore (Sālātura), and was educated at Takṣaśilā, both in the *Udīcya* tract ; he probably flourished in the 5th century B.C., for he knew the Persians, and the Yavanas or Greeks who were in Persian service (I accept Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's date for Pāṇini). In his grammar he finally as if for all time regulated Classical Sanskrit, the third in line of succession from the Vedic *Kunstsprache* as in the Rigveda, through the language of the *Brāhmaṇas*. It was based evidently on the spoken dialect of *Udīcya,* and it was adopted with zeal by the entire Brahmanical world—in the Midland, in the East, also in the South. A great speech was thus set up—the greatest and most important

form of the Aryan speech in India for three millenniums, which was destined to become one of the greatest vehicles of civilised thought and endeavour, and the outward expression of one of the few original systems of culture in the world which still subsist. It began its triumphant career from its birth and started its *dig-vijaya* or 'world-conquest' of India and Greater India, spreading its far-flung influence into most distant lands as a veritable *Dēva-Bhāṣā,* a Speech of the Gods.

LECTURE III

SANSKRIT IN INDIA AND GREATER INDIA; AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN.

Classical Sanskrit a Repository of OIA. Phonetics and Morphology and a Reflex of MIA. Syntax and Vocabulary—Its growing Importance—*Gatha* or Buddhist Sanskrit—Spread of the Aryan Speech (especially as Sanskrit) as a Cultural Force all over India—Hindu (Brahmanical and Buddhist) Expansion into Lands outside India—Central Asia (Khotan)—Ceylon—Sanskrit and the Lands of *Greater India*—Burma—Thailand (Siam) and Indo-China—Malaya—Indonesia—Sanskrit in Java and Bali and the Sanskrit Element in Indonesian Languages—Sanskrit and Old Khotanese, Tokharian and Sogdian, extinct Languages of Central Asia—Sanskrit and other Indian Languages, and Persian—Not much direct Influence of Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan in the West—Sanskrit and Tibetan—Ancient India and Ancient China—Influence of Sanskrit on Chinese—Sanskrit in Korea and Japan—Study of Sanskrit in Western Universities at the Present Day—the Place of Sanskrit in Modern India—Interdependence of Sanskrit and the Vernaculars from MIA. onwards.

Beginning of the MIA. stage in the East—the Prakrit of the *Udicya* Tract—North-Western NIA. and South-Eastern NIA., Lahndi or Western Panjabi and Chittagong Bengali—MIA. Assimilation of Consonant Conjuncts and MIA. Cerebralisation of Dentals may be Spontaneous, or due to non-Aryan Influence—Loss of Root-Sense, and Tendency to pronounce Open Syllables in Late OIA. and MIA.—the Brāhmī (and Deva-nāgarī and other Indian) System of Writing, and the Habit of Open Pronunciation in Late OIA. and in MIA.—Unexploded Stops in Late OIA.—*Abhinidhana* or *Sandharana*—How all this brought about Assimilation of Consonants in MIA.—OIA. Values of Vowels modified—Vowel-Length in MIA. tending to become dependent on Speech-Rhythm—Pitch and Stress in OIA. and MIA.—Open or Spirant Pronunciation of Stops and Aspirates in MIA.—Periods in the History of MIA.—Elision of the Spirantised Stops—*Sauraseni*,

'water', *asṛk* 'blood', √*ad* 'eat', √*gṛbh* 'seize, take', √*han* 'strike', √*vakṣ* 'grow', √*yaj* 'worship', √*vij, vēj* 'tremble', √*pṛ-ṇ-* 'fill', √*pat* 'fly', √*sū* 'give birth to', etc. gave place respectively to words like *ghōṭa-ka, prastara* (which originally meant, as in the Yajurveda 18. 63, 'rushes spread out'), *kukkura* or *kurkura* (onomatopoetic), *ṣaṇḍa (gōṇa), mēṣa (ēḍa-ka), balīvarda, śakaṭa (*gaḍḍikā), dhana, bala, vāṭikā (gṛha), vṛkṣa (gaccha, piṇḍa), jala (pānīya), rakta (rudhira, lōhita),* √*khād* (√*jam*), *pra*+√*āp*, √*māraya-*, √*vṛdh*, √*pūjaya-*, √*kamp*, √*pūraya-*, √*uḍḍīya-*, √*janaya-*, etc. in the spoken language, and these are the words which have survived in the modern Indo-Aryan speech, not the older ones which were the common words of Vedic or Old Indo-Aryan. Pāṇini fixed the grammar of Sanskrit for all time, but Sanskrit could not remain bound to the standard of Pāṇini's age for ever: there is an evolution in Sanskrit all through, and from the vocabulary, from syntax and from other ever-changing characteristics, it is easy to form an opinion about the age of an ordinary Sanskrit work. In Pāṇini's time Sanskrit as the *Laukika* or 'current' or 'popular' speech had probably the same position among the Indo-Aryan dialects as Hindi or Hindustaṇi (Hindusthani) at the present day. The masses everywhere understood it, including those in the East among whom Prakrit appears to have first grown up. Ancient Indian drama (the earliest fragments of which that we possess date probably from the 1st cen. A.C.) has the tradition of making the upper classes and the Brahmans speak Sanskrit, and the lower classes and the women the Prakrits; and in this matter it is quite clear that an actual state of things when Prakrit was evolving has given the basis of the literary convention. The historical traditions and ballads and songs current among the born Aryans, among the mixed Aryan and non-Aryan people, and among the non-Aryans who had become Aryanised, were told or sung in the vernacular forms of Aryan, and then altered to Sanskrit to form the *nuclei* of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, in which, particularly in the Mahābhārata, many a dialectal form has survived. Sanskrit as it was taking shape was probably at first looked upon with indifference by the Buddhists and Jainas; for the *Chāndasa* i.e.

Vedic, they could not feel the Brahman's respect. But gradually Sanskrit claimed the allegiance of these sectarians as well. The Buddhists (in pre-Christian centuries probably) developed a compromise speech called *Gāthā* or 'Mixed Sanskrit' in which we note a most artificial Sanskritisation of Prakrit forms : it was just a homage paid by MIA. to the spirit and antiquity of OIA.

Sanskrit thus became the Symbol of Indian Culture—as it was completed, so to say, by the Aryanisation throughout the greater part of Northern India of non-Aryan elements in life—in religion and philosophy, in historical tradition, in myth and legend,—and their incorporation within the body of a composite Hindu Culture. This synthesis went throughout the first year-thousand before Christ ; and during the second half of this year-thousand it was well-nigh complete. (*Hindu* as opposed to *Vedic* culture, looked at historically from this point of view, is *younger* than Hellenic culture which was completed and had already passed its best period by 300 B.C.; rather, it was contemporaneous with the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman and Sassanian and Byzantine periods of European and Near Eastern history). While this process of completion was going on in Northern India, this synthesised culture, with the Aryan speech as its vehicle, became a great force in India—an irresistible force. The Aryan speech became a strong and potent bond of union among the various kinds of non-Aryan speakers and those who spoke the Aryan language ; the evident want of a common linguistic bond in the country before the advent of the Aryans gave the Aryan language (whether as the spoken dialects, or as Sanskrit) its first and greatest opportunity. The synthesis of culture which was behind it enabled peoples of all groups to accept it as their own. In this way, after the Aryan language in its various forms or dialects had been established from Gandhāra in the West to Videha and Magadha in the East, and from the foot-hills of the Himalayas in the North to the jungles of Central India and towards the western sea by Gujarat in the South, by 600 B.C., it began to spread into Bengal, into the Deccan and further into the South. Colonies of Aryan speakers took the language (both as Prakrit and Sanskrit) among organised

and well-established groups of Dravidians, whose native speech was too well fixed to give way to the Aryan in daily life, e.g. among the Andhras, the Karṇāṭas and the 'Drāviḍas': but even the Andhra and Karṇāṭa speeches, inspite of their being highly civilised languages, had to recede in some places before Aryan; while Drāviḍa (or Tamil, in the narrow sense of the term) was far away beyond the two barriers of Andhra and Karṇāṭa, and hence there was no question for it of yielding its ground before the pressure of Aryan. But Aryan in both Sanskrit and Prakrit forms began to influence the civilised Dravidian languages from pre-Christian centuries. The number of Prakrit words in their Tamil disguise in Old Tamil is quite remarkable; Prakrit words in Telugu and Kannaḍa are also noteworthy; and as for learned Sanskrit words, *tatsamas* unmodified in orthography,—gradually Telugu, Kannaḍa and Mālayāḷam became saturated with them, and Tamil did not escape from them either, inspite of an unavoidable simplification or Tamilisation in their spellings. Sanskrit then came to occupy the same place in Hindu life in the South as it did in the North: it became the common platform upon which pan-Indian Hindudom stands.

While this composite Aryan-non-Aryan or Hindu culture was evolving on the soil of India in the pre-Christian centuries, there was Hindu expansion outside India, North and West as well as East and South-East—the former by land, and the latter by both land and sea. This story has been lost; the urge that impelled the Ancient Hindus—Brahmanists and Buddhists—to cross the inaccessible mountains and deserts and jungles and to face the dangers of the sea was not merely material, but also spiritual; not only for gain in commerce, but also for a desire to share with the whole of humanity the philosophy and the active charity taught by the *Rishis* and the Buddhas. There were in some cases probably also reasons of politics and statecraft. But we note that in the 3rd century B. C. Indian settlers from the Panjab and the North-West went to the Khotan territory with their Prakrit speech—and this North-Western Prakrit (as the Asoka inscriptions at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra indicate) had

not deviated so much from Old Indo-Aryan as had done the Eastern or South-Western Prakrits (as at Sarnath and Girnar). This Prakrit had its own history in Central Asia (Southern Sin-Kiang or Chinese Turkistan), and we have quite a mass of documents dating from post-Christian times discovered at Niya and elsewhere which show that its Indo-Aryan and Sanskrit character was mostly retained, inspite of a number of innovations in phonetics, in morphology, in syntax, and in vocabulary, all of which show local Aryan (Iranian) and non-Aryan speech-habits. Another Prakrit speech was transplanted from Gujarat (Kathiawad) to Ceylon in the middle of the 6th century B.C., according to the oldest Ceylon traditions, in the wake of the adventuresome expedition of Prince Vijaya from Sīhapura. (Prince Vijaya, the first Aryan coloniser of Ceylon from the mainland of India, who may belong to history and not to myth, has been claimed by Bengal, but I am convinced, particularly through some linguistic evidence, that he as typifying the original Aryan-speaking colonists from India in Ceylon belongs to Western rather than to Eastern India: see in this connexion my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 15, 72-73, 176).

Indian Brahmanical colonists went overland to Burma: the high antiquity claimed by some Burman traditions (which appear to be pious and learned Buddhist concoctions in late medieval times) for the earliest colonisation of Burma, both North and South, by Kshatriya princes from India, is inadmissible, but since the oldest Pali and other Aryan inscriptions in Burma date from the 5th-6th centuries, and since there is literary evidence of pre-Christian connexions between Magadha and South Burma by the sea, it can be well-assumed that the *Rmañ (=Mon* or *Talaing)* inhabitants of South and Central Burma, racial and linguistic kinsmen of the Austrics of India, received by land route through Chittagong and Arracan and by sea Indian culture and Indian speech from before the Christian era, and that the first thousand years after Christ was a period of intense Aryanisation of the Rmañ (or Mon) and the Pyu peoples (the Pyus being an old people of unknown affinity in Northern

Burma who have now become absorbed by the Burmese)—in religion (Brahmanism and Buddhism) and in general civilisation. This Aryanisation was carried on through the introduction of the Indian script, and the Sanskrit and later on the Pali languages, apart from the Prakrit vernaculars (and Dravidian speeches like Old Telugu and Old Tamil, which had already fallen in line with the Prakrits by accepting the authority and tutelage of Sanskrit). The *Mran-mā* or Burman tribes, of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic group, who arrived in Burma subsequently from the North, had already come under Indian and Indo-Aryan influences indirectly through China (which had passed on Mahāyāna Buddhism and a few Aryan terms of Buddhism to the Burmans before they came to Burma); and once they were settled in Northern Burma, they started, from the 11th century, when their greatest kings and conquerors Anorathā (Anoyahta) and Kyan-cac-sāḥ (Kyanzittha) flourished, their life-and-death struggle with the Mon people, which is the main theme of Burma's history from the 11th to the 18th century, in which the Mons were finally practically driven out of existence from Burma. But in the course of this contact both hostile and peaceful with the Mons, the progressive Indianisation of the Burmese through Buddhism and Pali (and to some extent Sanskrit) was brought about, so much so that Buddhist Burma culturally can only properly be affiliated to India; and Pali now reigns supreme as the religious language of Burma, and has given hundreds of words to the Burmese language and has inspired its literature; and Burmese scholars also have taken part in enlarging the extent and importance of Pali literature. Indian influences and Sanskrit penetrated into South Siam (Dvārāvatī), Cambodia (Kambuja) and Annam (Campā) from pre-Christian times, and in this part of Indo-China Sanskrit acquired the place that it did in India in the life of the people: scores of Sanskrit inscriptions from the 2nd–3rd centuries A.D. testify to the importance of Sanskrit, and even now the Khmer language of Kambuja and the decadent language of the Chams who appear to be passing away as a separate people are full of Sanskrit (and Pali) words. The Thai (Siamese) people are

related (at least linguistically) to the Burmese, and they too came from the North and borrowed the culture of the Austric peoples whom they conquered, the Mons of Dvārāvatī and the Khmers of Cambodia, and Sanskrit still continues to play in Siamese a role almost equal to that played by it in Tamil and Telugu, and in Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali and Oriya even: Siamese even now borrows from Sanskrit, or prepares with the help of existing Sanskrit vocables, roots and terminations, a good many of its technical and scientific words and most of its formal ceremonial or official titles and terms (e.g. in the present-day Siamese language, 'telephone' is *dūra-śabda,* pronounced something like *thorosap ;* 'airplane' is rendered by *ākāśa-yāna,* pronounced *agat-chan;* 'a cent, hundredth part (of the standard silver coin the *tical* or *baht)*' is translated as *śatāṁśa,* pron. *sitaṅ;* 'Railway Traffic Superintendent' has been translated as *Ratha-cāraṇa-pratyakṣa;* 'Irrigation Officer' is *Vāri-sīmādhyakṣa;* etc. etc.) Aristocratic names in Siam are still mostly from Sanskrit.

From Indo-China when we pass on to Malaya and Indonesia, the triumph of Sanskrit is similarly noticeable. As in Indo-China—Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Laos and Cochin-China—scores of place names and names of cities are in Sanskrit, in Sumatra, Java and Bali, particularly in Java (e.g. *Śūrakṛta* = *Soera-karta*[1], *Ayōdhyā-kṛta* = *Djogyakarta, Brahmā* = *Bromo, Surābhaya* = *Soerabaya, Vana-sabhā* = *Wonosobo, Sumeru* = *Smeroe* etc.); personal names in Java still continue to be in high-flown Sanskrit, both among the Sundanese and Javanese, in spite of their Islamic religion (e.g. *Wirapoestaka* = *Vīra-pustaka ; Soeradipoera* = *Surādhipura ; Harja Hadiwidjaya* = *Ārya-Ādivijaya; Soerjo-pranata* = *Sūrya-praṇata; Sastro-wirja, Sastra-tama, Poedja-arja, Wira-wangsa; Poerwa-Soewidjnja* = *Pūrva-suvijñā; Wirja-Soesastra; Sasra-Prawira*=*Sahasra-pravīra;*

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1 In the Dutch system of spelling followed in the Romanisation of Malay and other Indonesian languages in Dutch India, it is to be noted that oe=u, ū ; j, tj, dj, sj=respectively English y, ch, j and sh; nj=n'; h is usually silent; and the cerebrals are not distinguished.

Sasra-Soetiksna = *Sahasra-sutīkṣṇa; Dirdja-Soebrata* = *Dhairya-suvrata; Ardja-Soebita, Rangga-Warsita, Wirdjadiraja, Jasa-widagda, Sasra-koesoema, Marta-ardjana, Adi-soesastra, Reksa-koesoema; Boedi-darma* = *Buddhi-dharma; Adi-soesastra, Dwidja-atmadja, Prawira-soedirdja, Soerjadikoesoema, Reksa-soesila, Sasra-harsana ; Karta-asmara* = *Kṛta-smara ; Sasra-soe-ganda, Djaja-poespita, Tjitra-sentana, Arija-soetirta; Karta-wib-awa* = *Kṛta-vibhava; Hardjo-soepradjnjo* = *Ārya-suprājña;* etc. etc.). In ancient Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Balī and Borneo we have Sanskrit inscriptions—the oldest hailing from Borneo and Java dating from the 4th-5th centuries A.D.—which show that local Hindu kings and Brahmans employed Sanskrit as in India, and this tradition continued down to the beginning of the 16th century, when Madjapahit, or *Bilva-tikta,* to give its Sanskrit name, the last Hindu kingdom in East Java, fell to the Muham-madan princes of West Java in 1520. Sumatra and Java had be-come great centres of Buddhist and Sanskrit learning to which even students from the mother-country—India—came to study. Tantric and other Sanskrit works similarly were found to be stu-died in Cambodia: some of these texts have recently been identi-fied in Nepal Mss. by my esteemed colleague, Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (*Studies in the Tantras,* Part I, Calcutta Uni-versity, 1919, pp. 1–26). Even now in Bali the Hindu religion much mixed up with local Malayan or Indonesian elements forms the religion of 99 per cent of the one million of people who inhabit the island, and Sanskrit *mantras* and texts, often corrupt and frequently mixed with the local dialects, but good Sanskrit usually, are used by the Brahmans of Bali, who, however, do not study Sanskrit any more independently : and some of these *mantras* and texts have been collected in Bali and publish-ed from Baroda in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* by the late Pro-fessor Sylvain Lévi. Javanese and Balinese literatures are large-ly based on that of Sanskrit, and these two languages, particu-larly in their earlier phases, are replete with Sanskrit words. Sanskrit metres like the *Vasanta-tilaka* and *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* have been naturalised in Javanese and Balinese, and stanzas from an Old Javanese work like the *Ardjoena-wiwaha* or *Krěsnayana*

from the strings of Sanskrit words and an Indonesian (Javanese) verb or particle or noun here and there would look exactly like a stanza in Sanskrit-Kannada or Sanskrit-Mālayālam *(maṇi-pravālam)*. Culture words, formal terms and titles still continue to be drawn from Sanskrit in Java and Bali: when Dr. Noto-Soeroto the Javanese writer publishes a Dutch-Malay journal from Holland, he calls it *Oedaya (=Udaya);* the Javanese intellectuals in Djogyakarta start a society for the study of Javanese culture, and they name it *Boedi-oetomo (=Buddhi-uttama);* a club for ladies is called *Wonito-Wiromo (=Vanitā-virāma)*. Missionaries of Hindu culture, well-versed in the Śāstras, who were known as *Bhujaṅgas,* were sent by the Javanese kings of the Madjapahit empire in the 14th century to all important centres in the Indonesian islands forming part of that empire to spread the Hindu-Javanese culture and religion among the people. The result of the presence of Sanskrit in these islands has been that most of the Indonesian languages obtained a vocabulary of Sanskrit culture-words, which is thus found from Malaya on the Asiatic mainland right up to the Moluccas and Timor in the East and the Philippines in the North. Sanskrit vocables also spread further into the East—a Sanskrit element has been suggested even in the distant Melanesian and Polynesian speeches belonging to the Austronesian group.

In Central Asia, the lost languages, the Iranian Old Khotanese and the Indo-European (of the *Centum* group) Tokharian (or Old Kuchean and Old Qaraśahrian) were reduced to writing with the Indian alphabet during the early centuries of the Christian era, and these languages had translations from Sanskrit and adopted a large number of culture words from Sanskrit. Sanskrit similarly, though to a lesser extent, impressed another Iranian speech, the Sogdian, which was spread over a wide tract in Central Asia, its home-land being in the Pamir plateau and in the present-day Turki Soviet States of Russian Turkistan.

These Indo-European languages could fall in line with Sanskrit easily, and Old Khotanese and Tokharian acted to some extent as intermediaries in transmitting Indian and Sanskrit

influences to Chinese and to Turki of North Central Asia. The presence of Buddhism in Iran, and contact with India, gave to Persian (Middle and Modern Persian) some Indo-Aryan words, among which may be mentioned *but*='image', originally '*Buddha*-image'; *šakar*='sugar' *(sakkarā, śarkarā)*; *qand* or *kand* 'candy' (< *khaṇḍa)* ; *šaman*='Buddhist priest' (<*śramaṇa)*; *kirbās*='linen' *(kārpāsa)*; *nārgīl*='coconut' *(nārikēla)*; *čandan*='sandal'; *nīl*='blue'; *babr*='tiger' (<*vyāghra*); *lak* 'sealing wax' (<*lakkhā, lākṣā)*; *bărāhman*='Brahman' (a late introduction); *šatrang* or *šatranj* (< *caturaṅga)*='chess'; *šāγal* 'jackal' (<*sṛgāla)*; *rāy* 'king' (<*rāa, rājā)* ; etc. Indo-Aryan words, and other Indian words, passed on to the languages to the West of Persian, into Arabic, and further into the Mediterranean tracts, but indirectly, through Persian and Arabic. Of course through direct contact between the ancient Indians and the Greeks, a number of Indian words (mainly commercial) were adopted by Greek, just as a number of Greek words came to India, some of which were adopted by Sanskrit (See A. Weber's article on Indian words in Greek and Greek words in Sanskrit in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1872). But we cannot speak of a cultural progress of Sanskrit in the West, in the way we see it taking effect in the East and the North.

Tibetan came under the spell of Sanskrit along with the introduction of Buddhism from the 7th century onwards, but like Chinese, Tibetan was a self-contained language–it developed the habit of finding equivalents, with its own native elements, of Sanskrit words, no matter howsoever abstruse or complex the idea, or howsoever foreign and recondite the object. Even the personal and other proper names were translated into Tibetan : thus *Buddha*=*Sańs-rgyas* (now pronounced like *seṅ-je)* *Prajñā-pāramitā* = *Śes-rab-pha-rol-tu, Vajra-sattva* = *Rdo-rje-sems-dpa'i, Amitābha*=*Ḥod-dpag-med* (pron. *ö-pä-me), Tārā*= *Sgrol-ma* (pron. *ḍolma), Avalōkitēśvara* or *Lōkēśvara* = *Spyan-ras-gzigs* (now pronounced *cen-rä-si)*, etc. etc.

China probably came in touch with Aryan India in the pre-Christian centuries, but when, and how, we do not know.

There are striking points of agreement between the philosophy of Lao Tsze's *Tao-teh-King* (c. 550 B.C.) and the Upanishads, but Lao Tsze's *Tao* (**Dhău*) and the Upanishadic *Ṛta* (or *Brăhmăn*) may very well be ideas of a similar nature independently arrived at by both China and India. Some scholars hold the likelihood of indirect contact during the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., this contact having actually taken place between the people of China and that of India through the intermediacy of Central Asian peoples: and the Chinese general and explorer Chang K'ien who visited Central Asia in the 2nd century B.C. heard of India from the local peoples and was astounded to see Chinese articles like silk and bamboo-flutes coming to Central Asia via India, which evidently were brought to India through present-day Yun-nan and Assam. The mention of bamboo-flutes is interesting, for among the few Chinese words borrowed by Sanskrit we know only three: the name *Cīna* 'China', from that of the *Ts'in* dynasty, B. C. 255-202, under which China became a strong and a united empire for the first time; the word *kīcaka* 'a kind of bamboo', from Old Chinese **Ki-cŏk*='Ki-bamboo' (cf. Sylvain Lévi in the *Études Asiatiques*, 25th Anniversary Volume of the French School of the Far East at Hanoi, Paris 1925, p. 43); and, as I have elsewhere suggested (in the *Sir E. Denison Ross Commemorative Volume*, Poona 1939, pp. 71-74), the word *musāra*, found in the Mahābhārata and in Buddhist Sanskrit, meaning some kind of precious stone or other object. Regular and direct contact between India and China began from the 1st century A.D. when the Indian monks Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Fa-lan (? Dharma-ratna) went to China to preach Buddhism, c. 60 A.D., at the request of the reigning emperor of China. Sanskrit Mahāyāna texts forthwith began to be translated into Chinese, and a Chinese Buddhist literature, quite extensive in quantity and valuable in content and quality, came into being, through the joint efforts of Indian and Chinese scholars and religious men. In this matter China followed the original plan of translating Sanskrit names and words into their Chinese equivalents, as the Chinese people with their ideogrammatic and hieroglyphic

system of writing did not find it easy to indicate complex and to their ears barbarous foreign sounds. But a few Sanskrit words were adopted into Chinese, in the pronunciation as current in China some fifteen hundred years ago; but now this old pronunciation of Chinese has changed in a remarkable manner in the different dialects, altering beyond recognition the outward form of the word: thus, the name *Buddha*, adopted in Old Chinese in a pronunciation like **Bhywəd* or *Bhywət* from a modified monosyllable pronunciation **Buddh* or **Budh*, has now become in the different dialects *Phwat, Fwat, Fat, Fo* and *Fu; Amita* (or *Amitābha*) *Buddha* is now pronounced as *O-mi-to-Fu; Kāśyapa*=Old Chinese **Ka-z'yap*, has become in the various dialects *Ka-yep, Ka-yeh, Kia-yeh* and *Chia-yeh* (which the Japanese borrowed in Old Japanese in the form *Ka-siapu*, now changed to *Ka-shyō*); *Brahmā* > **Bramh* now occurs as *Fan; Brāhmaṇa* > **Ba-ra-man* as *Po-lo-men*; etc., etc. As in the Tibetan (probably the Tibetans got the idea from the Chinese), translations of Sanskrit proper names are in common use: thus *Tathā-gata*, epithet of Buddha, has been rendered by a compound as *Ju-lai*, = 'that-way gone'; *Aśva-ghōṣa* = *Ma-heng*, 'Horse-neigh'; *Dharma-siṁha*=*Fa-shih* 'Religion-lion'; etc. etc. But nevertheless, Sanskrit words in exceedingly mutilated forms have found a place in Chinese, and the ideology behind these words as typified by Buddhist philosophy has made for itself a permanent place in Chinese life. The ancient Chinese used in the great days of Sino-Indian contact to take pains to learn Sanskrit, and Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries compiled in the 7th and 8th centuries have been found, which were published in facsimile from Japan in the 18th century (a number of such dictionaries have been studied, and two of these have been critically edited some time ago by my friend and colleague Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi). *Sanskrit in China*: that is the great symbol of an intimate cultural contact between the two great peoples of Asia, who alone built up two original systems of civilisation in the East;—although it must be said to the credit of China's genius and adaptability, and to the discredit of India's

temperamental aloofness in matters material, that China was able to gain more through this contact and fellowship than India. China assimilated Indian thought, Indian emotionalism and Indian religious art; but the greatness of Chinese humanism, Chinese art in its creative originality and Chinese curiosity could not modify the Indian spirit—though it may be asked if the Chinese love of nature has not had an influence on Sanskrit literature of the Gupta period, as doubtless Chinese art touched the fringe of Indian art, in the Gupta coins for instance. The study of Sanskrit introduced the Chinese to phonetics, which was a very weak point with the Chinese philologists from the nature of their system of writing, and from the example of Sanskrit they attempted to study their language in its behaviour with regard to its sounds.

Korea and Japan received Sanskrit through China, including the old Indian alphabet of the post-Gupta period. Formerly Japanese and Korean students learned their Sanskrit in China. This post-Gupta alphabet is still in use among certain Tantric sects of Buddhism in Japan. The polysyllabic character of the Japanese language made it a better vehicle for the expression of Sanskrit words, and curiously enough Sanskrit has been able to impress Japanese more than Chinese or Korean by giving it some of its common Buddhist words. Ordinarily the Japanese use Chinese translations of Sanskrit names, terms and words, in a Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese (e.g. the words *Dharma*=*Ta-mo* in modern Chinese, but *Daruma* in Japanese, *Fo* or *Fat*=*Buddha* is in Japanese pronunciation *Butsu* <*Butu* as it is written, *Fan*=*Brahmā* becomes *Bon*, and *Po-lo-men*=*Brāhmaṇa* is in Japanese *Ba-ra-mon*), but Sanskrit words are also found as such (written with both Japanese syllabic writing and with Chinese characters): e.g. *sara* 'plate' (< *śarāva*), *tsudzumi* (older *tudumi*) 'small drum' (=*dundubhi*), *hatsi* (earlier *pati*) 'a bowl' (=*pātra*), *Binayaka* (=*Vināyaka*), *Bishamon* (=*Vaiśravaṇa*), *Bashi* (=*Vasiṣṭha*), *Ema* (or *Yema*) =*Yama*, *Kompira* =*Kumbhīra*, *Birushana* = *Vairōcana*, *ruri* 'lapis lazuli' (<*vēḷuriya*, *vaiḍurya*), *sulaṭa* 'Buddhist text'

(=*sūtra*), *bodai*=*bōdhi*, *hannya* (written *pannya*) 'wisdom' (=*prajñā*), *naraka* 'hell' (*naraka*), *garan* 'temple, monastery' (=*saṅghārāma*), *biku* and *bikuni* (=*bhikṣu*, *bhikṣuṇī*), *shamon* (*śramaṇa*), *sō* 'priest' (< *saṅgha*), *sammai* (=*samādhi*), *rakan* (=*arhant*), *haramita* (=*pāramitā*), *yuka* (=*yōga*), *beda* or *bida* (=*Vēda*), *ma(n)dara* 'variegated colours' (*maṇḍala*), *hundarike* 'a kind of lotus' (*puṇḍarīka*), etc. etc. Some Sanskrit palm-leaf Mss. from India have been preserved in Japan, and these date from the 7th century (these were studied in the 18th century and published with a Chinese transcription in Japan, and F. Max Müller with the help of Bunyu Nanjio published these Mss. in fascimile with transcriptions and notes from Oxford in 1884). Over ten years ago Dr. J. Takákusu studied the Sanskrit and other Indian elements in Japanese as a legacy of Buddhism in the language, in the pages of the *Young East* of Tokyo, and this study afforded an interesting side-light into the working of the Indian spirit through Sanskrit in far-way Japan, although there was no direct contact in ancient and mediæval times.

The right place of Sanskrit in the scheme of things in the linguistic world has at last come to its own with the study of the language in Europe. Sanskrit to start with has been given a recognition in most of the universities of Europe from its Indo-European implications and its value in the study of Indo-European linguistics. For higher classical linguistics, Sanskrit has become almost a compulsory subject of study. As the language of the Vedas, the oldest literary documents of Indo-European (along with the newly discovered Hittite and other texts, and the poems of Homer), it has received its due homage. Its importance for India is patent, and admitted everywhere. The Nazi even in his Nordic pride is using the Sanskrit word *Swastika* to denote the symbol of his Nordic exclusiveness—a word which has been ours for generations from the OIA. period, as its modern NIA. equivalents, still in use, viz. *sāthiyā* and *sāthiyo* in Rajasthani and Gujarati, through the MIA. *satthia-*, would go to prove,—and is further proud to think of himself as an *Ārya* (*Arier*, *arisch*), condemning the Jew as *non-Aryan*

(nichtarisch). But within India, among Indian intellectuals, there now appears to be a conspiracy of neglect for this great heritage. Truly a prophet is never honoured in his own country. Sanskrit is not dead when it still continues to infuse life-sap into the Modern Indian languages. This aspect of Sanskrit at least should never be lost sight of. There is another and to my mind an equally important significance of Sanskrit. It is the Symbol of Indian Culture—of the Indian mind which came into being after the synthesis of the best elements in the Aryan and the pre-Aryan (Dravidian and Austric) worlds: a mind which has for the last three thousand years been living and having its being in an atmosphere of absolute freedom in the search of truth, and of toleration for all kinds of spiritual and other experience; of sympathy for all life, and of the absence of exclusiveness in matters relative to the Ultimate Truth.

Sanskrit was followed in this matter by what may without being unscientific be described its younger forms—the old Prakrits, and the modern *Bhāṣās*. In spite of dialects which are as links in a single chain, Indian speech was looked upon as one by most foreigners in olden times, Sanskrit being its central pendant. In the Chinese lexicons noted above, a good many vernacular Prakritic words are given as Sanskrit. They were Indian words, related to Sanskrit,—in fact, its later developments—and they had therefore their natural place in the train of Sanskrit. This was the feeling of the Indian people also. Prakrit and Sanskrit could never be dissociated from each other —neither of them could be conceived of as having independent existence: they were very much inter-dependent. This fact has to be kept in view in dealing with the development of Indo-Aryan from the MIA. period onwards. The present-day Indians in my opinion should also bear it well in mind.

The digression above about the *dig-vijaya* of Sanskrit in India and outside India was to indicate the importance of the synthesis that took place in India of the two cultures (or rather three) —Aryan and non-Aryan (Dravidian and Austric), and the language also shows evidence of this synthesis. The Aryan lan-

guage within some seven and eight centuries after its advent into India, as it began to be adopted by masses of non-Aryans, began to take a new turn. As it has been mentioned before, new tendencies appeared first in the East in the direction of sound-changes like assimilation of consonants and cerebralisation of dentals–the latter being a continuation, as indicated before, of the pre-Vedic phonological law that *l*+dental combined into a cerebral. These tendencies–assimilation and change of *r* to *l*–probably were as old as the 10th century B.C., or even earlier. By 600 B.C., a little before Buddha, the Middle Indo-Aryan stage was apparently fully established in Eastern India, while North-Western India–*Udīcya*–and the Midland also probably–still preserved a good semblance of Vedic (or Old Indo-Aryan), in phonetics, no doubt,–but in morphology it fell in line with the other forms of the speech; and, as the specimens of the MIA. dialect of the North-West as current in Central Asia would show, it developed some special syntactico-morphological innovations, earlier than the rest, like the use of a compound tense form made up of the passive participle in *-ta* followed by the substantive verb to indicate the active form of past tense (e.g. *kṛta asti*='has done, did'). Phonetics apart, the MIA. stage embraced all the forms of spoken Indo-Aryan. This conservatism in certain matters relating to phonetics appears always to have characterised the dialects of the West, e.g. the Dardic speeches of the extreme North-Western Indo-Afghan frontier (which have had a development quite isolated and independent of Indo-Aryan proper), and the Panjab dialects. Compared with this phonetic conservatism of the North-West, phonetic decay (or phonetic advancement) in the East was much more rapid. This is true of the Eastern dialects even to-day: the North-Western Lahndi and Panjabi, e.g., in retaining the double consonants of MIA. and resisting the change of short vowels followed by two consonants (i.e. a long consonant) into a long vowel (nasalised when there is a nasal) *plus* one consonant, still keeps to the phonetics of Middle Indo-Aryan; while Chittagong Bengali, as a dialect of the extreme East, appears to be one stage in advance of West Bengali by eliding intervocal stops even when

they are derived from double stops of Middle Indo-Aryan, and nasalising intervocal *-m-* even when this comes from *-mm-* of MIA. (cf. S. K. Chatterji, *The Quaternary Stage of Indo-Aryan,* Proceedings of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930).

The MIA. assimilation of consonants need not be the result of Dravidian or Austric influence—it may be only a natural development. Nothing can be asserted, as we do not know any thing about the habits of the languages ousted by Aryan two or three thousand years ago. But this kind of wholesale transformation which is resisted elsewhere is noteworthy. The development of the cerebrals is another case in point: *l+t(h), l+d(h), l+n, l+s* gave respectively in Old Indo-Aryan *ṭ(h), ḍ(h), ṇ, ṣ;* this may have been brought in spontaneously in Aryan, as an analogous change of *rt* to *ṭ* and *rd* to *ḍ* has developed (quite independently of any thing else) in Modern Norwegian and Swedish. But we have to consider the presence of cerebrals in Dravidian and in Austric (in the Kol dialects, at any rate): the cerebrals do present very characteristic sounds of Dravidian, and the more the Aryan language advances, the greater is the increase of cerebrals at the expense of dentals. Here extraneous, probably Dravidian, influence may be assumed.

The MIA. assimilation of consonants is based on two noteworthy things which affected the forms of Aryan words—one of this I call the *Loss of 'Root-Sense,'* and the other was the *Tendency to Pronounce Open Syllables.* A born or native speaker of a language is normally conscious of the subtle forces underlying each element in the word uttered. Even what is called in German *Tonfarbe,* the 'tone-colouring,' is not without its fine implications. Before words through wear and tear of centuries are worked to death, so to say, each formative element has its meaning and its value. Unless there were other forces like lethargic habits of thinking and speaking, normally the native speaker of a language would know clearly which element is the root and which the affix, when it is the question of a composition language using both roots and terminations. Thus, a born Aryan speaker can be expected to know that in the word *dharma,*

the element *dhar* is the root, and *-ma,* is the affix, and accordingly his mental analysis of the word would be into *dhar/ma.* So in the case of other words—*sūr-ya, sah-ya, div-ya, sabh-ya, kr̥-ta, kl̥p-ta, bhag-na, pak-va,* etc. Certain phonetic changes through attraction of voiced or unvoiced consonants would be inevitable: e.g. *lab-dha* for **labh-ta, dugdha* for **dugh-ta* etc., but here the transformation is not of so great importance, as the connexion or analysis is not obscured. But when there is a wholesale laziness of thinking, or when the words of a language are not so much an inheritance as an acquirement, conscious or unconscious, from another culture group, this root-sense might be blurred or even lost; and the analysis would normally be not insisted upon, and it would be only on deliberate thinking that it could present itself. In such a case, the word is taken in the lump, as it were, and any kind of analysis of its component parts would be allowed—from its sounds, rather than from the function of the elements making it up. Thus *dharma,* taken as one whole word without reference to root and affix, can then be analysed as *dha-rma.* This may be induced if the person speaking already possesses or develops a preference for an open rather than closed pronunciation of syllables. Connected with this open pronunciation is the tendency to a drawl —to lengthen out vowels. A similar thing happened in the development of Middle English from Old English: what was *ĕt-an* in Old English (=*ad-ana* of Sanskrit) became *e-ten* in Middle English, and this open articulation enhanced the length of the *e* vowel, and the form of the word became *ē-ten,* then *ē-te* (=*ētə*), and finally *īt* (written *eat*), with long *ī* sound in New or Modern English derived out of Middle English long *ē* arising in this way from Old English short *ĕ*.

The system of writing applied to a language is an index of its pronunciation, if this system is made up or adapted exclusively for that particular language. We do not know what the original Brāhmī script in which the Aryan speech was first written was like. It may have been like Southern Brāhmī, in which a consonant letter did not have an inherent *-a.* But it may be

expected to have been syllabic, like ordinary Northern Brāhmī, with consonants without intervening vowel being linked up into ligatures giving what are called 'conjunct consonants'. This principle is maintained in the Modern Dēvanāgarī and its sister and cousin scripts. Asokan Brāhmī did not indicate double consonants, and the language of the Asokan inscriptions being Middle Indo-Aryan, the script did not have many consonant conjuncts: for which ligatures consequently are wanting in the Asoka documents. The spellings ध र्म =*dha-rma*, स त्य =*sa-tya*, दि व्य =*di-vya*, कॢ प्त =*kḷ-pta*, भ ग्न =*bha-gna*, प क्व =*pa-kva* etc. of Dēvanāgarī and other Indian alphabets are unquestionably based on the Brāhmī tradition. That tradition was developed just when Old Indo-Aryan had started to transform itself into Middle Indo-Aryan. In the oldest OIA., it may be expected that a word like *lip-ta* or *bhak-ta* was pronounced with full explosion of the first stop in the compound or conjunct stop-groups *p-t, k-t* (as is the Modern Indian way, in pronouncing both NIA. combinations of such consonants resulting from loss of vowels and OIA. combinations in Sanskrit words which are borrowed), particularly when the person speaking was aware that *lip* and *bhak* represented the root element. But just at the confluence of OIA. and MIA., a new habit of articulation sprang up, which was noted by the careful observers of Indo-Aryan pronunciation in the cultured dialect as used by the Brahmans—the observers who composed the *Prātiśākhyas,* for instance, which give the speech-habits of the late OIA. period. This habit was known as *abhinidhāna* or *sandhāraṇa,* which indicated that a final stop consonant or one before another consonant was pronounced in an incomplete or checked manner *(sannatara, pīḍita)* (cf. the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya,* and the *Atharvavēda-prātiśākhya).* This can be explained only to mean that the stop in question was not fully articulated—there was just the *sparśa* or 'touch' for it, but no release with the explosion necessary to complete the consonant. Now, this meant that words like *bhakta* and *lipta* were pronounced not with a fully exploded *k* and *p,* – as *bhak/ta, lip/ta,* but rather as *bha-*

kta, li–pta or *bha–* ^{k}*ta, li–* ^{p}*ta),* and there was only one explosion, that after the second consonant. This was followed by another important change in articulation: in *bha-kta, li-pta* or *bha-*^{k}*ta li-*^{p}*ta,* and such words, a single explosion inevitably brought about a laziness of the tongue, which ended by not touching the point of articulation for the first consonant at all, but by proceeding forthwith to the point for the second and dwelling there longer, to give rise to a 'long' stop (the so-called 'double' stop). Assimilation was thus the inevitable result of a new syllabic arrangement which was based on *abhinidhāna* and on open articulation; e.g. *dhar-ma* > *dha-rma* > *dha-mma; śuk-ra* > *śu-kra* > *su-kka; ak-ṣi* > *a-kṣi* > *a-kkhi, a-cchi; *spṛś-ta* > *spṛṣ-ṭa* > **spu(r)-ṣṭa* > **hpu-hṭa* > *phu-ṭṭha; sah-ya* > *sa-hya* < **sa-hja* < *sa-jjha;* etc. Final stops were similarly unexploded, like the *t', p', k', c'* of Santali; and this want of explosion tampered with their acoustic quality, and brought about their final loss in MIA. *(vidyut* > ** vidyut'* > *vijju; manāk* > ** mināk'* > *minā).*

The preference for open consonants probably brought in a new treatment for vowel-length. In Indo-European, vowel-length may be described as having been intimately connected with etymology. But the original character of Indo-European *Ablaut* became obscured through the loss of the *ĕ, ē, ŏ, ō, ə, ṇ̥, m̥* vowels; and Vowel-length in the Aryan speech in India gradually became dependent on Speech-rhythm—at least to an appreciable extent. This of course is to be noticed but rarely in Sanskrit which strictly followed the Old Indo-Aryan etymological vowel-length, but cases are there (e.g. *prădēśa* or *prādēśa, pratĭkāra* or *pratīkāra).* But as we advance further and further from the Old Indo-Aryan stage through Middle Indo-Aryan, we note this principle to be more and more operative. Long vowels for original short ones, and *vice versa,* indicate that in MIA. a new system for the regulation of vowel or syllable quantity has come in. We have thus plentiful examples in Pali, in the inscriptional Prakrits, and in the later Prakrits;

e.g. Pali *tūriyaṁ, satīmatī, abbhāmatta* for *abbhămatta, kummiga; dīgham addhāna* (for *naṁ*) *sōcati, dukhaṁ* (for *dukkhaṁ*), *dakkhisaṁ* (for *dakkhissaṁ*), *pāvacana, paṭikkula* (=*păvacana, paṭikūla*) (cf. Geiger, "Pali Literatur und Sprache," §§ 32, 33); Prakrit—*pāaḍa* (< *prakaṭa*), *riṭṭhāmaya* (< *ariṣṭamaya*), *pāsiddhi* (<*prasiddhi*), *ṇāhī-kamala* (< *nābhi-kamala*), *girīvara, dhiīmao* (< *dhṛtimataḥ*), *jagaī* (< *jagati*), *bhaṇimo* (<*bhaṇāmaḥ*), etc. (cf. Pischel, "Grammatik der Prakritsprachen", §§70, 73, 99, 108, 109 etc.). This is also noticeable in New Indo-Aryan: cf. Hindi *pānī*, but *pănīhār* ('water'-'water-carrier'), *Nărāyăn* (=*Nārāyaṇa*), *jănāwăr* (<Persian *jānwăr*); Early Maithili *rājā* but *răjāesa* (=*rājādēśa*); Bengali *din* (pronounced in isolation *dīn*) 'day', but *dīn-kāl* 'times'; *hāt*='hand', but *hāt-pākhā* (*ā* in the first syllable short) 'hand-fan', etc.

The question of Stress Accent is closely connected with this. In Indo-European, in its latest phase at least, accent was dominantly a Pitch Accent, in which the emphasis characterising the words in their formative period was on the whole retained. This accent of pitch, or tone, was quite well preserved in Vedic, and in Early Greek, and consequently the form of word could not be tampered with. In MIA. probably by the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., most of the Indo-Aryan dialects abandoned the Pitch Accent, which was free (sometimes being on the root, and sometimes on the affix) for a new kind of accent,—Stress or Respiratory Accent—which was fixed, occurring generally on a long syllable towards the end. In this matter Indo-Aryan is believed to have split up into two groups—one, that of the South-west, now represented by Marathi, which continued Vedic pitch accent for some time, and then changed it from pitch to stress—retaining, however, the same position in the word; and the other, embracing the Indo-Aryan dialects of the remaining tracts, in which the Vedic pitch accent and its free places were frankly given up, and a fixed stress came in. There has been, however, such an amount of dialectal miscegenation in MIA. (and the artificial character of most of the literary forms of Prakrit has also to be taken into consideration),

that it is well nigh impossible to form any opinion about the behaviour of the various regional dialects in MIA. in this matter. All that can be done, with some certainty of obtaining positive results, will naturally have to be in connexion with the New Indo-Aryan languages. The irresponsible and frequently cavalier treatment of Prakrit by writer, grammarian and copyist in ancient India forms a serious handicap for drawing warranted and warrantable conclusions in this and other matters. Attempts are being made by a former pupil and present colleague of mine, Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, to find out whether any thing interesting and conclusive can be drawn *à propos* stress and pitch accent in Middle Indo-Aryan, and whether any line of dialectal demarcation can be proposed, based on this speech-attribute.

Another matter in connexion with Middle Indo-Aryan phonetics may be touched upon. I have discussed this in my "Origin and Development of the Bengali language", pp. 252-256. This is the *Spirant Pronunciation of Intervocal Single Stops and Aspirates* at a definite stage in MIA., after these stops had become voiced, and before their disappearance. Before *śōka* and *rōga, ati* and *nadī* of Old Indo-Aryan became *sōa* and *rōa, aï* and *naī* in later Prakrit, these passed first through the stages *sōga* and *rōga, adi* and *nadī;* and then there came the articulation with an open or laxly pronounced, that is, spirantised γ and ð, as *sōγa, rōγa* and *aði, naðī,* before these open consonants became all open and no consonant with any kind of closure, i.e. they dropped off from speech. This stage of spirant pronunciation forms a landmark dividing Early MIA. from Second MIA.–it indicates a transition which changed once again the face of the Indo-Aryan speech. On the basis of this characteristic stage, it has been thought advisable to split up the history of Middle Indo-Aryan into a number of consecutive stages–Old or Early MIA. (Early Prakrit Stage), Transitional MIA., Second MIA. (Prakrit Proper), and Third or Late MIA. (Apabhraṁśa). This spirant pronunciation appears to have been in force for the entire Aryan speech-area during a century or two both before and after Christ–roughly, from 200 B.C.

to 200 A.D. Orthography in inscriptions, and hesitancy about intervocal stops in Prakrit Mss. are an indication of this spirant pronunciation: also some evidence is obtained from the employment of the Indian alphabet for an extra-Indian language like Old Khotanese, which possessed these spirants. The Indians did not care to invent new signs for these new sounds.

In India, the tradition of orthography has always been conservative. People have been generally accustomed to write, not in the current language of the day, but in a style more or less archaic in both phonetics and in grammar, when they essayed the vernacular, or the literary forms of the vernacular. This is no isolated thing for India—it is true of many a language in other parts of the world. Thus in Spanish they write *abogado* 'advocate' but pronounce it as *avoγaδo*, or even *avoao*. Of the literary Prakrits, Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī as described by the grammarians have *g, gh* (or *h*), *d, dh*, for *k, kh, t, th* occurring singly and intervocally. The Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī tradition of spelling appears to go back to the period of transitional MIA., when the spirant pronunciation was in vogue. (It must be noted in this connexion that in the formation of the speech of the Rigveda, a spirant habit of pronunciation seems to have characterised one of the component OIA. dialects and this habit has brought about the change of *-dh- -bh- -gh-* to *-h-* in a number of cases in Vedic and Sanskrit). But in Mahārāṣṭrī, the single intervocal stops are already all elided; and consequently, although Mahārāṣṭrī is described in the same breath as Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī in the Prakrit grammars, it presents a later stage of development than the other two kinds of Prakrit. It may of course be that the dialect of one area is more advanced than that of another, and therefore the speech of the Mahārāṣṭra country might have undergone greater decay than the speech of Śūrasēna or Magadha at the same time. But making a close study of this and other aspects of the question, Dr. Manomohan Ghosh some time ago came to the plausible conclusion that *Mahārāṣṭrī represented not the language of 'Mahārāṣṭra'*, contemporaneous with Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī, but rather it was *just a later form of Śaurasēnī* after

the final loss of intervocal single stops, and the reduction of the intervocal single aspirates to *h,* had taken place in it. According to Dr. Ghosh's view, Mahārāṣṭrī was at its basis a later form of Śaurasēnī which was taken to the South, where it picked up some words and forms of the local Prakrit, and was used in literature there, and from the Deccan i.e. Mahārāṣṭra, it was received back in Northern India as an excellent medium of verse. The Northerners had confined themselves to their old-fashioned Śaurasēnī, while the younger form of it, which did not have the handicap or drag of an old literary tradition in the South, was easily employed in literature, and could thus discover its qualities, which were recognised by all; and the dialect came to acquire an honoured place in the group of literary Prakrits. The analogy of the Northern Language Hindustani (Hindusthani) being first put to literary use in its *Daknī* form in the Deccan, where it was transplanted from the North, naturally suggests to oneself (cf. Manomohan Ghosh, "Journal of the Department of Letters," Calcutta University, Vol XXIII, 1933, pp. 1-24). Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit, from the above point of view would thus represent only a stage between Śaurasēnī Prakrit (which retains intervocal stops, voiced), and Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa.

In Morphology, MIA. started a history of decay. This became so rapid and so fundamental, particularly in the case of the verb, that one is tempted to think of disruptive influences from outside. In the Declension of the Noun, the dual, an old but an unstable form, died out. The number or cases were reduced, one case-form functioning for more than one case. The special pronoun inflexions were extended to the noun. As for the case-inflexions, a number of forms not registered by Vedic or Classical Sanskrit but which were probably current in the various spoken dialects of Old Indo-Aryan are seen to be preserved in MIA. All these show that the variety of case-forms in OIA. have not all been preserved in Vedic and Sanskrit There was a genitive form in *-as* or *-aḥ* (which was identical with the nominative, and appears to be preserved in a Vedic expression *sūrē* (< *sūras) duhitā* 'Daughter of

the Sun'): probably from this with the loss of final *-s (-h)* we get *rāma-kēraka* besides *rāmassa kēraka (=rāmasya kāryakam,* for simple *rāmasya)* in MIA. A genitive in *-ha* of Late MIA. is a puzzle: can it be from a postpositional or inflexional **-dha,* locative in sense originally, which we find in Pali *idha*=Skt. *iha,* and which is related to the locative affix *-hi* <**dhi* as in MIA. *kahi* 'where' <**kadhi* in OIA. (<Indo-European *q^{w}_{o}*dhi,* whence Greek *pothi)* ? As there were losses, there were also gains—by making innovations. And herein perhaps we may see the indirect working of Dravidian and Austric influences. *Verbal and Nominal Post-positions,* added to the genitive or some other inflected form making up the 'base' (or the 'oblique' form, as it is called for New Indo-Aryan), came from the Transitional MIA. stage onwards, to act as substitutes for, or as strengtheners of original case-inflexions, lost or current. This post-positional habit, if it may be so called, brought the Indo-Aryan speech nearer to Dravidian and Austric (Kol); and in later MIA. their number was on the increase, so much so that a good number of these, mostly nouns and a few verb forms, were in use widely over the Aryan language-area. In the NIA. stage there were more additions of verbal post-positions (of the type of Gujarati *thī* and *thakī),* and this was a still greater approximation to Dravidian.

The *Numerals* in MIA. (and in NIA. also) help us to get a good idea of dialectal intermixture within the Aryan language area. Take, for example, the Hindi numerals: *ēk* is a borrowed Skt. word, *ĕkka* in Pkt.; the proper derivative of *tadbhava* origin from Prakrit would be *ē,* which is found in Assamese *(ēka> ēa > ē-); dvāu >* *dō* 'two' is a genuine Midland form, but *tīn* 'three' appears to be Eastern in origin *(trīṇi > *tirṇi > tiṇṇi); cha* 'six' is a puzzle before the Sanskrit *ṣaṣ ; bārah, bāwis, battīs* etc. show the influence of the South-western Prakrit, the source of Gujarati, which changed *dv-* to *b-; gyārah, bārah* (<*ēkādaśa, dvādaśa)* etc. show double irregularity for Hindi, with change of *-d-* > *-ḍ-* and then to *-r-* (*-d-* > *-ḍ-* is characteristic of the

Eastern Prakrit—cf. *duvāḍasa* in some of the Eastern inscriptions of Asoka), and *-s-* > *-h-* (this is characteristic of the North-Western dialect as in the Panjab); and in the case the Hindi *gyārah,* the *-g-* is from an influence of Sanskrit on late Prakrit. Note the following forms: *pañca* gives *pā̃c, pan* (as in **pan'raha* > *pandrah), pẵc* (through loss of accent, as in *pẵcīs, pẵcās), pāy* or *pāī* (as in *pāītīs* < *pañña-tīsa), -wan* (< *-vaṇṇa* < *-paṇṇa)* and *pan* again (as in *pacpan* < *pañcapañcāśat).* In *sattar,* the retention of the Prakrit double *-tt-* with Old Indo-Aryan *-t-* > *-r-* *(saptati* > *sattari)* are both irregular for Hindi; and in *ik-hattar* (<*eka-saptati,* Pkt. *ĕkka-hattari),* the *-h-* for *-s-* is similarly not normal for Hindi (*-s-, -ss-* > *-h-* words have invaded Hindi in some cases, and some verb-forms also show the same change). Words for the numerals are an easy speech-commodity to transmit, and internal commerce in its various ramifications appears to have been responsible for this kind of intermixture of forms. In this connexion, a query may be made: how is it that in Gujarati the two syllables *-daśa* as in *trayodaśa, caturdaśa, aṣṭādaśa* etc. show loss of the vowel of the penultimate syllable in addition to the final syllable (e.g. Gujaarti *tēr, cōd, aḍhār* with the loss of two syllables, as against Hindi *tērah, caudah, aṭhārah* with proper loss of the final syllable only)—a thing not found in other NIA. I have suggested an explanation that in MIA. the final *-a* in *-śa* in these numerals (as well as in the genitive affix *-ssa* from OIA. *-sya)* was lost quite early—in the transitional MIA., in the South-western Indo-Aryan tract (cf. the transcription in Greek characters of the coin legend *Rannio Nahapanas Ksaharatas*=*Raññō Nahapānassa Kṣaharātassa),* so that from *aṣṭādaśa* > **aḍḍhāras, *aḍḍhāra,* etc., NIA. Modern Gujarati *aḍhār* etc. evolved as a matter of course.

The Morphology of the Verb in MIA. need not detain us long. Most of the elaborate moods and tenses of OIA. were gradually lost, and ultimately in Second MIA. these were reduced to a present active and a present passive, as well as a future (in the indicative mood), an imperative, and an

optative present, with a few survivals of the inflected past forms —the past tense being generally indicated by the passive participle in *-ta-, -ita-* (or *-na-*), which qualified the subject when the verb was intransitive and the object when it was transitive. Thus the past tense of the transitive verb in this form was really in the passive voice; in the formation of the past, therefore, the verb became in its nature an adjective. In this matter, Aryan altered itself in the direction of the Dravidian habit which saw in the verb an adjective. The various inflected past tenses—e.g. *agacchat, agamat, jagāma,* from √*gam* 'to go',—imperfect, aorist, perfect—were characteristic of Old Indo-Aryan: they had kept up the character of the verb as a verb. But instead, the past was expressed in MIA. normally by the passive participle *gata-,* and this passive participle form has survived in New Indo-Aryan. Later on Sanskrit also took its colour from the spoken vernaculars, and developed a preference for the passive participle to indicate the past tense. Sanskrit furthermore came to develop one or two new verb forms—e.g. the periphrastic perfect (*kārayām-āsa, kārayāñcakāra, kārayāmbabhūva*), a new periphrastic future (*dātāsmi*), and a conditional augment preterite of the future (*akariṣyam*); but these died out, almost as quickly as they originated. The present participle in *-ant-* and the gerundive in *-tavya-* were largely used, and they formed the bases of various new tense-forms which were evolved in New Indo-Aryan. The gerundive in *-anīya-* probably had something to do with the evolution of the periphrastic passive in NIA. in some linguistic areas: e.g. *ētat karaṇīyam,* MIA. *ēaṁ karaṇijja(a)ṁ*=Bengali (dialectal) *ē karan-jāy.* In later Prakrit, the absolutive in *-ya* and *-tvā,* extended in certain ways, began to play a role more important than ever. It helped to restrict finite verb constructions, and this tendency has become very much noticeable in Bengali and other speeches; and the late Mr. J. D. Anderson saw in this preference for the absolutive clause construction an influence of a Tibeto-Burman substratum, particularly in Bengali (See *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,* II, p. 1011). Pleonastic affixes, with

subtle shades of difference indicating the bigness or pettiness of an object, its ungainly character or its lovable quality, like *-alla, -illa, -ĕlla, -ḍa* etc., came to be more pominent, as the MIA. stage progressed towards NIA.

Classical Sanskrit was profoundly influenced by MIA. Not only were a large number of MIA. words adopted into Sanskrit (e.g. *vaṭa*<*vṛta*, *nāpita*<√*snā*, *lāñchana*<*lakṣaṇa*, *puttala*<*putra*, *bhaṭṭāraka*<*bhartā*, *bhaṭa*<*bhṛta*, *manōratha* <*manō'rtha*, etc.), but a whole host of Prakrit roots and verbal bases both of Aryan and non-Aryan or uncertain origin were slightly altered to look like Sanskrit and bodily adopted. This is in addition to the approximation to MIA. in syntax and idiom, below the surface. Sanskrit and MIA. thus frequently became identical in spirit, though not in form. This was realised by the ancient scholars with whom Sanskrit represented just a variant, an earlier or fuller form (*pāṭha*) of Prakrit.

The general line of MIA. phonology and morphology in the various stages of First MIA., Transitional MIA., Second or Middle MIA., and Late MIA. or Apabhraṁśa, have been more or less established. It is not necessary to discuss further this matter. Regionl affiliation of the various dialects of Early, Middle and Late MIA.—the question as to how for the Prakrit dialects labelled by the ancient Indian grammarians with regional names really represent the spoken vernaculars of the different areas—is a most important problem which is fraught with many difficulties, some of them with the meagre and very mixed up materials at our disposal seeming to be well-nigh insoluble. Thus, it is becoming quite clear that Pali has nothing to do with the land of Magadha, although one of its alternative names is *Māgadhī bhāsā,* but rather it is a Midland speech, connected with Śaurasēnī. The Asokan dialects have their problems. The dialect of the Midland is not represented by any Asoka inscription, and Asoka's court language, the Eastern Prakrit, was the official language evidently, and had influenced all other dialects. Probably the Midland people at the time had no difficulty in understanding the Eastern dialect. Then,

again, the stage dialects—Śaurasēnī, Māgadhī, Mahārāṣṭrī, Āvantī, Paiśācī etc. The question of Mahārāṣṭrī has been noted before pp. 85, 86. The other dialects are what may be called "Imitation Dialects." They represent the grammarian's (and following him also the later Prakrit writer's) conception of what Śaurasēnī, Māgadhī, Mahārāṣṭrī or Paiśācī speech as a regional dialect should be like. Their meagre treatment in grammar gives a few points about what in the general opinion, voiced by the grammarian, is the character of a particular dialect. They are to be compared to present-day "Stage Bengali" in a Hindi drama, or "Stage Hindi," "Stage Oriya" or "Stage East Bengali" in a standard Bengali play; only the modern representation of the dialects appears to go nearer the mark than the ancient ones. It seems that the lines of isogloss during the MIA. period can be only fixed by a close study of the Modern Provincial Languages and Dialects alone, with whatever light is available from the Prakrits themselves.

The vocabulary of Middle Indo-Aryan presents some interesting problems. Sufficient attention does not seem to have been paid to the *semi-tatsama* element in MIA. from the Pali downwards. The history of a word like *paüwā̃* or *paüma* from earlier *paduma*<*padma*, or like MIA. *raaṇa, rayaṇa* from earlier *radaṇa, ratana*<*ratna*, should be considered as that of a borrowed element from Sanskrit, and not inherited from OIA. by MIA. The proper distinction between *tadbhavas* and *semi-tatsamas* should be made even for MIA. Anaptyxis (*Svara-bhakti* or *Viprakarṣa*), rather than Assimilation, marks off these modified Sanskrit borrowings. And they have been coming into MIA. at all stages. We have thus to differentiate also between earlier and later *semi-tatsama* borrowings in MIA. Some apparent anomalies in NIA. would then be easily explained on this orientation of *semi-tatsamas* in MIA: for such MIA. *semi-tatsamas* have in many cases survived in NIA.: e.g. *ādarśikā* > **ādarasikā* > **āarasiā* > NIA. *ārsī*; *sarṣapa-* > **sarisapa-*, *sarisava-* > Hindi *sarsõ*; etc.

The *dēśī* element in MIA. is another absorbing and frequently baffling topic. A good many *dēśī* words are just inherited Aryan words in MIA., only the carelessness of some early grammarian has failed to identify them as *tadbhavas.* Such words are not too few in a work like the *Dēśī-nāma-mālā.* Some are onomatopoetic formations—and the increase in number of onomatopoetics, as Indo-Aryan advances in its history, is noticeable. The onomatopoetics form a very characteristic element of speech in both Dravidian and Austric, and in this matter we shall be justified in assuming a vital influence of the non-Aryan substrata. "Echo-words" (e.g. Gujarati *ghōḍō-bōḍō,* Marathi *ghōḍā-biḍā,* Hindi *ghōṛā-uṛā,* Bengali *ghoṛā-ṭoṛā*='horses, etc'.) are another contribution from Dravidian to New Indo-Aryan, and it can be well-assumed that it was coming into evidence in MIA.

Then, a good many words in later Indo-Aryan have been shown to be of Dravidian and Austric affinity or origin. In this connexion the non-Aryan elements in Vedic and Sanskrit have also to be considered. Sanskrit grammarians never gave a thought to the possibility of the Language of the Gods ever going in for borrowing vocables from the languages of the Śabaras, the Niṣādas, the Pulindas, the Kollas, the Bhillas and other aboriginal tribes; and hence theoretically there are no *dēśī* or *vidēśī* i.e. foreign words in Sanskrit and Vedic. But since the days of Caldwell and Gundert, upto to-day when Przyluski and others have opened up a new line of research—that of the influence of Austric on Indo-Aryan—investigation is proceeding apace, and a fairly respectable Dravidian and Austric element has now been signalised in Indo-Aryan, including Sanskrit, in addition to deeper and more subtle influences on Indo-Aryan phonetcis and syntax.

Another characteristic element exists in MIA., the proper affiliation of which remains a puzzle. There are several hundreds of words in the New Indo-Aryan languages and dialects

which are not derivable from Indo-Aryan sources, although Prakrit source-forms for these can easily be reconstructed. They generally have a genuine Prakritic look, mostly with double consonants or nasals with corresponding stops or aspirates, and the ideas denoted by these words are more or less fundamental or elementary. To give a few examples: *aḍḍā-* 'screen', *aṇṇāḍi-* 'foolish', *aṭṭakka-* 'stoppage', *khilla-* 'nail', *hora-* 'rough', *khoṭṭa-* 'blemish', *khossa-* 'husk', *goḍḍa-* 'foot', *godda-* 'lap, bosom', *muṅga-* 'coral', √*ḍhuṇḍh* 'seek', *phikka-* 'light', √*loṭṭ* 'roll', √*lukk* 'hide', etc. etc. They are a very tantalising group. Prof. R. L. Turner has given in his *Nepali Dictionary,* which is one of the most important contributions to our study of NIA. etymology, some 450 such Indo-Aryan reconstructions of "words of non-Indo-European, uncertain or unknown origin". Like some of the words in the *Dēśī-nāma-mālā,* some at least of this list are surely Aryan: e.g. in Professor Turner's list *aṅgauccha-* 'towel' would appear to be from *aṅga* and √*prōñch* 'rub'; *ummaḍḍ* 'spring up' < *ud+mṛd; udvakk* 'vomit' < *ud+vṛkka-* 'stomach'; *gallī* 'lane' is probably the same word as Hindi *gail,* from earlier *gaa-illa* < *gata+illa; gaḍha* 'fort' I explain as being from Indo-European **ghṛdho-* (= OIA. **gṛdha-),* the source also of (Sanskrit) *gṛha, gēha* and MIA. and NIA. *ghara,* =Slav *gradu,* Germanic *gard-,* Latin *hortus; cheṇḍa-, cheḍḍa-* 'hole' < *chidra; ṭhaṭṭha* 'framework', also 'plate', from Middle Persian *tašt* 'plate' (cf. in this connexion S. K. Chatterji in the *New Indian Antiquary,* II, 12, March 1940, p. 746); *dhotta-* 'cloth' may be from *dhōtra* < √*dhāv* 'to wash'; etc. These MIA. source-forms for a very important mass of NIA. words should of course be attempted to be reconstructed; but before that, these words are first to be collected in greater detail, from as many forms of NIA. as possible, and then their exact semantic as well as phonetic character may be established; and the discovery of their sources could only then be advantageously taken in hand.

Non-Indian foreign elements in MIA. have in some cases been adopted in Sanskrit, and in other cases these have been

carried on in NIA. without being registered in any Prakrit (or Sanskrit) book or inscription. The inscriptions also give us a few of these foreign loans: e.g. *dipi* 'inscription', *nipista* 'written' in Asokan North-Western Prakrit, *asavāri* 'trooper, horseman' in Sanchi, *kṣatrapa* or *chatrava* 'Persian viceroy, governor, ruler' etc. in Kushan and other inscriptions, all from Old Persian; *sekya-kāra* 'engraver'=Bengali *sèkrā* 'goldsmith', in a 7th century Sanskrit inscription, also from Persian; etc. When the MIA. equivalent is not found, it becomes difficult to identify such loans. Cases in point are NIA. *ṭhāṭh,* from a MIA. *ṭhaṭṭha,* which is a borrowing from Iranian *tašt* (as it has been just noted above), *ṭhākur (ṭhakkura)* from Old Turki *tegin* (as suggested by the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi), *Paṭhāṇ, Paṭhān* or *Pāṭhān* from Pashto *Paštāna* or *Paχtāna*=MIA. *Paṭṭhāṇa,* etc.

One point requires close enquiry in both MIA. and Sanskrit: the phenomenon of *Polyglottism* as illustrated by what may be called *Translation Compounds.* I have discussed this question of *Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan* in my paper on the subject before the Baroda Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. Examples in New Indo-Aryan of such *Translation Compounds* made up of two elements from different languages meaning the same thing or similar things (e.g. Hindi *sāg-sabzī,* 'vegetables', Indian and Persian; *jhaṇḍā-nišān* 'flags, banners', Indian and Persian; *wakīl-bairisṭar* 'lawyers' from Perso-Arabic *wakīl* and English 'barrister'; *khēl-tamāšā* 'sport', Indian and Persian; Bengali *cā* (<*cāk*)-*khaḍi* 'writing chalk', *cā(k)* from English 'chalk', pronounced *tšāk* one hundred years ago, and Bengali *khaḍi; bāksa-pèḍā*<English 'box' *(bāks)* and Bengali *pèḍā*<*pēṭaka;* etc.) are fairly common. I found only a bare ten from MIA. and OIA. (Sanskrit): e.g. *kārṣā-paṇa* 'a coin or monetary value', from Old Persian *karša* and Sanskrit (of Austric origin) *paṇa*='a number, four', used in computation; *śāli-hōtra* 'horse', from Austric **sāli* < **sāta, *sāda* (as in Skt. *sādin* 'horseman': cf. *śāli-vāhana*=*sāta-vāhana,* and Kol *sad-om* 'horse', and *hōtra* < **ghōtra, *ghutra,* the older from of Skt. *ghōṭa* 'horse', and of the Dravidian words like Tamil *kutirai* < **guti-*

rai, Kannada *kudure* < **guturai,* Telugu *gurra-mu* < **gutra-,* etc.); and since then I have come upon a few more. The occurrence of this kind of translation-compounds suggests that in Ancient India as much as in Modern India various languages were spoken (or studied, or otherwise employed) side by side, and hence these compound formations.

The study of the vocables, simple, onomatopoetic and compound, in MIA. is thus of value for both the preceding and the following epochs in the history of Indo-Aryan.

LECTURE IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW INDO-ARYAN IN ITS SOUNDS, INFLEXIONS, AND VOCABULARY.

The New Indo-Aryan Period commenced c. 1000 A D.—the Turki-Irani conquest of North India, and the Rise of the NIA. Languages—the Apabhraṁśa Literary Tradition, its Beginnings and its Influence—*Pingala*—*Avahattha*—Secondary Position of of Apabhraṁśa and NIA. *vis-a-vis* Sanskrit—Nature of the Conquest of North India by Islamised Turks and Iranis—the NIA. Languages taken up to consolidate Hindu Religion and Culture—the rising NIA. Literatures, in Bengali, Maithili, Oriya, Awadhi, 'Hindi', Panjabi, Rajasthani-Gujarati, Marathi—Prose in Indo-Aryan—the Old Indo-Aryan Prose Tradition as in the *Brahmanas* etc. lost—New Prose Styles in Sanskrit—NIA. weak in Prose—Reasons—Transformation of MIA to NIA.—Phonetic Changes—Panjabi Resistance to new Speech-Habits—New Phonetic Habits not indicated by Script and Orthography in NIA.—the Glottal Stop ['] for the Glottal Spirant [h] in NIA.—Recursives or Implosives, i.e. Stops with accompanying Glottal Closure for the Aspirates in NIA.—Differentiation of the Central Speeches, 'Hindi' (Eastern and Western) and other Dialects, from the Surrounding Speeches in this Matter—Recursives in East Bengali—[h] and the Aspirates in Panjabi—Tone as a Substitute for Aspiration in Panjabi—Glottal Closure Accompaniment in Gujarati—the Recursives and the Question of 'Inner' and 'Outer' Aryan—the 'Inner' and 'Outer' Aryan Theory—the Glottal Stop and the Recursives etc. originated independently in the different NIA. Tracts—Probably as old as the Apabhraṁśa Stage in East Bengali and in Rajasthani-Gujarati—Stress and Vowel-Length in NIA.—Bengali Stress and Quantity—Probable non-Aryan (Dravidian and Tibeto-Chinese) Influence—the Tibeto-Burmans in the Southern Himalayas, in North and East Bengal, and in Assam—Interaction among New Indo-Aryan Speeches—Panjabi Influence on Hindi—Hindi Influences on Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali etc.—Influence of Literary Bengali on present-day Literary Hindi—Foreign Words through Bengali into Hindi—Sound Change and Inflexional Change in NIA.—NIA. Morphology—Survivals from OIA. and MIA.

—Noun Morphology extended by New *Post-positions*—Beginning of Post-positions in MIA.—Non-Aryan Influence in this Matter—NIA. Post-positions of Nominal and Verbal Origin—Indication of the Plural Nominative by a Strong Form of the Genitive—Transference of Oblique Plural Forms to the Nominative—Plural in NIA. by Agglutination—NIA. Honorific Forms of the Pronouns—Use of the Reflexive Pronoun (*ap-*) for the Honorific Second (and Third) Personal Pronoun—Conjugation of the Verb in NIA.—Loss of OIA. Tense Forms—Tenses of Participial Origin in NIA.—Active, Passive and Neuter Constructions in the Past Tense of the Verb in NIA.—Modification of these Constructions in many Forms of NIA.—Simple and Compound Tenses in NIA.—General Observations on the Character of NIA. Phonology and Morphology—the Dardic Speeches—Should be classed independently of Indo-Aryan—the Gipsy Speeches of Europe—Sinhalese—Sanskrit Influence on NIA. Vocabulary—its special Uniqueness and Value—Persian, and English, and their Impact on NIA.—Prospects for NIA.

By about 1000 A.D. the Aryan speech entered into a new period or epoch in its history—the New Indo-Aryan Period. Momentous events had taken place in Indian history, and inspite of epoch-making repercussions from without, the synthesis of Indian culture had continued without let or hindrance. Indian life and Indian thought were expanding, and India was enabled through an astonishing liberation of her head and heart and her hand to think and to feel and to create things of permanent value for humanity. Upto 1000 A.D., the achievements of Indian culture embraced a galaxy of names, a series of deathless ideas, a body of scientific thought, and a gallery of artistic productions which are at last coming to their own as being among the crowning achievements of man. The Aryan language, and to some extent also Dravidian, had kept pace with this march of civilisation in India. The former, as Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrits, and the latter as Tamil and Kannada (the oldest specimens of which go back to times before 1000 A.D.), had produced works of the highest intrinsic merit in pure literature, in philosophy and in such positive science and speculation as had then developed. When a new age dawned after 1000 A.D., induced largely by the conquest

of Northern India by Turks and other foreigners professing the Muhammadan religion, and of the Deccan by Muhammadans from North India, the Indian languages had to take up their work anew of expressing the Indian mind and the new phase of Indian Culture. The age of the Prakrits had passed: the Prakrits through the regional Apabraṁśas had been transformed into the Modern Indo-Aryan languages. Sanskrit was not exactly dead,–it was studied in the mass of the ancient literature and it was employed by the scholars to write all serious treatises and all solemn literature; and as the spoken languages deviated farther and farther away from the Old Indo-Aryan norm presented by Sanskrit, the formal or outward cleavage between the two grew greater than ever. Sanskrit carried the glories of the past, but the vernaculars must meet the needs of the masses of the present age, must fight the cause of the country's culture within the country,–sustained, of course, by Sanskrit from behind. If there had been no Turki-Muhammadan conquest, the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars might have had their formal birth, but their recognition for serious literary purposes, it would seem, would have been delayed. For in the history of the language in India we find that people's tastes ran not for new things but for those that were a little mature or stale. Of course, in some tracts, through a desire to reach the masses, the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars were adopted as soon as they had evolved, as a more powerful instrument for the propagation of the ideas of the authors: e.g. in Bengal, where we have an Old Bengali literature of songs from the 10th century, as soon as the local Magadhi Apabhraṁśa took up a definite Bengali form. But in general, over the greater part of North India, the Apabhraṁśa literary tradition which commenced quite early, after Second Prakrit, from the middle of the first year-thousand after Christ, was going strong at the time of the Turki-Irani conquest. (Kālidāsa's *Vikramōrvaśī* shows some Apabhraṁśa verses–and if these are not spurious, or late modifications of earlier Second Prakrit which was in vogue at the time of Kālidāsa, c. 400 A.D., then the age for the commencement of Apabhraṁśa for artistic literature can be laid down

round about that date. Some traits characteristic of Apabhraṁśa, e.g. the weakening of final *-ō* to *-u*, would appear to be earlier still in the North-Western Prakrit, going back to the third century A.D.; but the orthographic tradition of the Kharoshthi script in the case of the North-Western dialects it is not possible or it is exceedingly difficult to appraise properly.) Even when the Modern Indo-Aryan languages had fully come to their own and had essayed their beginnings in literature, the Apabhraṁśa tradition continued either in the form of pure Apabhraṁśa, or in the form of a strong colouring of the vernacular with Apabhraṁśa orthography and Apabhraṁśa vocabulary and idiom, Apabhraṁśa cachets and atmosphere, to give a sort of semi-Apabhraṁśa semi-NIA. literary speech which we see in the *Prithwīrāja Rāsau* and in other works, and in the *Piṅgala* dialect of Rajasthan. A later form of Apabhraṁśa, itself coloured by or interspersed with NIA., is known as *Avahaṭṭhā (Apabhraṣṭa)* in Eastern India, c. 1400 A.D. The *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* compiled at the end of the 15th century is an important example of the carrying on of the Apabhraṁśa (and to some extent of the Prakrit) tradition right down to the broad day-light of New Indo-Aryan. If Indian life had been going on in its old grooves, without a terrible onslaught upon it from outside, then possibly the birth and development of New Indo-Aryan literatures would have been delayed by a century or two, as I have suggested before. When Al-Bērūnī described India, c. 1025 A.D., he noted that the Indian i.e. Indo-Aryan language (in North India) was divided into a neglected vernacular one, only in use among the common people, and a classical one, in use among the upper and educated classes, which was much cultivated, and subject to the rules of grammatical inflexion and etymology and to all the niceties of grammar and rhetoric. In spite of this, he considers Indian language as one. The cultured classes, the Brahmans, would have gone on cultivating Sanskrit, and their patrons, the Kshatriya and other princes, would have supported them—themselves and their less exalted subjects turning to Apabhraṁśa and the mixed Apabhraṁśa and vernacular for amusement,—the war-

ballads, the love-lyrics and the religious or devotional poems in the latter remaining outside the scope of a Brahman's normal literary predilections and preoccupations.

But the nature of the Turki conquest with its element of an intolerant and aggressive Islam which boasted of being the only True Faith before which the *Kāfirs*, the unbelieving and idol-worshipping heathen, must bow down, brought in some thing unprecedented in India. Previous to the Turki conquest (the Arab episode of Sindh apart—and the Arabs were driven out after a short period of domination following their conquest of the province in 712 A.D.), India was able to absorb all foreigners, even giving some of them the exalted status of Kshatriyas and Brahmans. The main reason was that these foreigners, although some of them were highly civilised (and in the cases of the ancient Persians and Greeks they were endowed with a higher material civilisation than, and an equally high intellectual civilisation with the Indians), had a different attitude towards things of the mind and the spirit from that engendered and fostered by the Islam of the Arabs—an attitude which was at once civilised and sympathetic and was in perfect accord with the Indian spirit. But the Turk came with the conviction that as a subscriber to the creed of Muhammad he was among God's elect, and that he was a knight of God fighting His battles against "idolators" whom it was his duty as much to convert to what he thought was the true religion as to loot and kill if they by opposition stood against what he looked upon as the decree of God. The tendency of the Turki conqueror to enlist the Indian to his mentality even by force constituted during the first troublesome centuries of Turki conquest the real menace to Indian civilisation; and the thought-leaders among the Indians, wherever they were not stunned by the suddenness and violence of this new type of *mlēccha* or foreign barbarian aggression, set about to consolidate their defences against this novel attack on the spiritual and cultural plane. The vernaculars were taken up to propagate the high cultural and spiritual ideas of their ancestors among the masses, and in this way they were to be fortified against being won over

to the ways of the Turk, in faith as well as in life. As soon as the North Indian Hindu recovered from the shock of the first impact, itinerant preachers roamed about and preached the old Hindu faith in One Divinity, giving that One Divinity the names of Rāma and Krishna and Śiva; and the Brahmans carried on the old tradition of reading and translating and expounding the epics and the *Purāṇas* with greater vigour. The devotional songs of the wandering preachers and the renderings of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and the *Purāṇas* formed the bases of literature in the different New Indo-Aryan languages (apart from some local forms of other literature, e.g. Buddhistic songs and ritualistic literature and narrative poems dealing with local heroes like Lāu Sen, Gōpī-candra or Gōvinda-candra, and local cults like that of the Snake-Goddess Manasā in Bengal, and Jaina stories and didactic literature in Gujarat), while the consolidation of the Turki conquest and the establishment of 'Moslem' power were going on over the greater part of North India during the 13th century.

The need and the subject matter for the vernacular NIA. literatures were both ready; and as a consequence, we have the continuity of Indian literature directed with greater vigour towards the narration of Hindu *Purāṇas* and the poetic treatment of Hindu religious themes. Short lyrics devoted to the Hindu Gods and *avatāras* were an established feature in the Apabhraṁśa and the growing vernaculars by the 12th century; witness e.g. the few poems and fragments in the vernacular in the *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* or *Mānasollāsa,* the great Sanskrit encyclopædia compiled in 1129 A.D. under the auspices of the Cālukya king Sōmēśvara III Bhūlōkamalla of Mahārāṣṭra in its section on Music *(Gīta-vinōda),* and also some of the poems in the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala;* witness also the *Gīta-gōvinda* of Jaya-dēva, the 24 *padas* or songs of which would appear to have been originally composed in the Apabhraṁśa, or in the newly risen NIA. vernacular of Bengal. A flourishing life for these thus commenced, and by 1600 we have in the NIA. dialects a number of works of capital importance, including the *Jñānēśvarī* and *Ekanāthī Rāmāyaṇa* in Marathi; the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* of Caṇḍīdāsa, the

Padmā-purāṇas of Vijaya Gupta and Vipra-dāsa, the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya* of Guṇarāja Khān, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivāsa, the *Caṇḍī-kāvya* of Mukunda-rāma and the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja in Bengali; the works of Śaṅkara-dēva and his contemporaries in Assamese; the lyrics of Vidyāpati in Maithili; the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of Jagannātha-dasa in Oriya; the *Rāma-carita-mānasa* and other works of Tulasīdāsa in Awadhi; the poems of Kabir in 'Hindi'; the oldest *Sākhī-s* in Panjabi; the *Prithwīrāja Rāsau* in the mixed Apabhraṁśa and Old Western Hindi; the poems of Mīrā Bāī in Rajasthani; and the works of Narsiṁha Mehta (1415-1418), and the *Kānhaḍa-Dē Prabandha* of Padma-nābha (1456) in Gujarati. Their life was thus assured. The NIA. vernaculars thus had received the onslaught of Muhammadan Turki aggression seeking to impose Islam on the people of India. In the 16th-17th centuries, Indo-Aryan was taken up by the North Indian Musalmans with the fervour of a new discovery, and Urdu, a compromise language given birth to by the force of circumstances, came into being during the 17th-18th century as a Musalman form of Hindi or Hindustani (Hindusthani). Prior to that, Muhammadan writers like Mālik Muhammad Jāyasī, author of the old Awadhi work the *Padumāwati* (c. 1545), and Shāh Burhānuddīn Jānam of Bījāpūr in the Deccan (d. 1582), employed the current vernacular as much as the Hindus, if they wished to preach or teach the message of Islam (generally Sūfīistic Islam) to the Indian masses who did not know Persian. And the great Kabīr was a Hindu poet in every thing but name—one of the greatest *Sants* or Religious Devotees, in the direct line of the great medieval religious writers of Hinduism like Gōrakh-nāth, Rāmānand and others in North India.

The tradition which New Indo-Aryan inherited from Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa was a tradition of Verse Literature. Prose in India was comparatively in the background when faced with the enormous volume of verse literature in Sanskrit. The *Brāhmaṇas,* the prose-portions of the Mahābhārata, the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Kāma-sūtra* of Vātsyāyana, the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali are there; but

the traditions of the *Kādambarī*, of the *Vāsavadattā*, of the commentaries of Śankara, of the *Pañca-tantra* and of the *Bhōja-prabandha* and similar later works, are different from each other, the last passing on to the style of early New Indo-Aryan (e.g. Gujarati) prose. The *Jātakas* and the canonical prose of Pali and the Jaina *Aṅgas* are in the pre-Christian Indian tradition of prose composition which we find in the *Brāhmaṇas* and in the prose portions of the Mahābhārata, the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* etc. But these later Sanskrit prose styles as in the commentaries and the prose *Kāvyas* could not be transmitted to NIA. Prose, again, wherever it was used in NIA., was employed for simple narrative rather than for scientific or philosophical or reflective purposes. This will be seen from a survey of the specimens of prose we see in Old Gujarati, in Early Panjabi, in Braj-bhakha, in Early Maithili, and in Early Assamese (in the unique *Burañji* or Chronicle Literature in the last). A simple style therefore sufficed, and prose, not having to grapple with complex situations in the thought world, could not draw out all the latent powers of the language. Quite a new stage in the devolopment of Indo-Aryan commenced with the British period when the Indian mind came in very close contact with that of Europe through English literature, in the first half of the 19th century in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and during the second half of the same century for the rest of India. As a well-known Bengali writer has put it tersely: "With the English, prose came to India, and rime gave place to reason." There is no doubt that a foreign student of Indo-Aryan of the eminence of Jules Bloch is largely right when he observed (in his invaluable work *L'Indo-Aryen,* Paris 1934) that when the need arose for the Indo-Aryan languages to meet the demands of science through a modern system of education becoming widely adopted, difficulties were evinced because the vernaculars were not yet ready as finished instruments of expression, and this is largely evidenced not only from the absence of good scientific and technical terms but also from the halting and not precise prose syntax of many NIA. speeches. An early development of a simple and vigorous prose in NIA. would have been of

inestimable benefit for the regeneration of the mind of India, and the Indian renaissance in that case would have been brought about much earlier.

This was the *milieu* in which the Indo-Aryan speech found itself after its characterisation from Middle Indo-Aryan. This characterisation took the following line: the process of decay which beginning from the MIA. period, had continued in its uninterrupted line, with very little new development and infusion of fresh blood in the shape of new grammatical forms and building up and borrowing of new words, had at last worked itself out, and a new process of growth and strengthening started. The phonetic decay was going on apace. Throughout the greater part of the Indo-Aryan area, Prakrit words of the type of *abba, abaa,* where *a* is a vowel and *b* a consonant, were contracted to *āba* and *abā*,—in either case the relevant vowel being modified by lengthening, as compensation for the loss of the *length* of the consonant (called *doubling*), or of the final vowel. A full nasal before another consonant was whittled down to a mere nasalisation of a contiguous vowel (e.g. *candra* > *canda* > *cā̃da*). The dialects of the Panjab resisted these consonantal changes, and in this way kept themselves aloof from the rest; but in all other matters, these, and Sindhi(which had developed along a line of its own), fell in line with the other New Indo-Aryan languages, like Hindi (Hindusthani), Braj-bhakha, Awadhi, Rajasthani-Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, Maithili, Bengali-Assamese, Parbatiya and the rest.

The phonetics of New Indo-Aryan presents some interesting and intriguing problems. At first sight, it would appear that there has been no innovation in the sound-system—no new sound added. The fact that the old Indian alphabet continues to be used for Indo-Aryan, whether as Dēva-nāgarī or as Bengali, Oriya, Assamese and Maithili, as Mōḍī or as Lāṇḍā, as Śāradā and as Kaithi, without the addition of a new letter for any possible new sound, gives us no clue from the written or printed page. Independently certain old sounds have undergone definite changes in certain language and dialect areas; that can be well-understood, e.g. that of OIA. and MIA. *c, j*

to *ts, dz* in Marathi (under certain conditions), in Ganjam, in Gujarati of Surat, in certain Rajasthani dialects, in Parbatiya or Gorkhali, and in East Bengali. And contact with Persian and the presence of a large Persian (including Arabic) element in the Musalman form of Hindi, viz. Urdu, has imposed upon it a number of foreign sounds like *f, z,* χ, γ, *š, ž,* and even the Arabic *hamza* and *'ayn* (at least in the speech of the *'ālims* or Arabic and Persian scholars), through words possessing these sounds being introduced in large numbers. The vowels in some cases appear to have undergone some changes, e.g. Sanskrit (OIA.) अ = *ă* has become a rounded low-mid back vowel [ɔ] in Bengali-Assamese and Oriya, but an unrounded high-mid back vowel [ɤ] in Marathi; and ऐ, औ =*ai, au,* have become [ɛ] and [ɔ], normal front and back low-mid sounds, in Rajasthani and Western Hindi, in inherited as well as borrowed words. Nasal vowels have appeared in some of the languages. Then, one great characteristic, which is the result of a continuance of the principle of decay, is the loss of interior and final vowels in many of the New Indo-Aryan languages.

But the recent study of various forms of NIA. speech, particularly their phonetic and phonological habits, has been a revelation. This has been so specially in connexion with the aspirated stops, and the aspirate [h]. This phenomenon was first studied in Panjabi by Dr. Grahame Bailey, and it was investigated by myself with regard to East Bengali and a few other speeches. It appears that for [h], a good many forms of New Indo-Aryan employ another sound—that of the glottal stop [ʔ] or *hamza,* and glottal closure compensates for the loss or modification of the *h*-element in the voiced aspirates *gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh.* The resultant sounds are *g', j', ḍ', d', b'* (or *'g, 'j, 'ḍ, 'd, 'b*), which have been called *Recursives,* or *Implosives,* i.e. 'Inhalation Sounds'. Similar sounds have developed in Sindhi, though not from aspirates (cf. R. L. Turner, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London, III, pp. 301-315). This matter has been discussed to the best of my ability in my Bengali paper মহাপ্রাণ বর্ণ *Mahāprāṇa*

Varṇa (first published in the Haraprasad Sastri Commemoration Volumes, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta) and my English monograph "Recursives in New Indo-Aryan" (in the *Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India,* Lahore, 1929), but it may be *à propos* to mention one or two points in this connexion. Of the New Indo-Aryan languages, the central ones—Western Hindi, and Eastern Hindi, and to some extent Bihari, are the most conservative in the matter of preservation of the aspirates. Even final *-h* is uttered fully—e.g. in Hindi *bārah*='12', the *-h* becomes quite fully audible in *bārahānā* ='12 annas', and words like *ghām* 'sunshine', *bāgh* 'tiger', *jhāṛ* 'tree', *sā̃jh* 'evening', *ḍhōl* 'drum', *paḍhnā* or *paṛhnā* 'to read', *dhō* 'wash', *sūdh* 'pure', *bhāī* 'brother', *sabhā* 'gathering', *lābh* 'gain' retain the aspirate, fully and clearly, whether it is initial or otherwise. But in the surrounding languages, the voiced aspirates are variously affected, and the aspiration, *h,* is either lost or is transformed into the glottal closure. Thus in West Bengali, *h* and the voiced aspirates are fully and properly articulated initially, but intervocally and finally the *h* is lost and the voiced aspirates invariably are deaspirated. In East Bengali, the *h* becomes a glottal stop, and the unvoiced aspirates when initial alone retain their proper aspirate character; the initial voiced aspirates are invariably turned to recursives with the aspiration changing to an accompanying glottal closure modifying the voiced stop sound forming the basis of the voiced aspirate; and the interior unvoiced and voiced aspirates are both turned to recursives and then the glottal stop element (or, rather, the glottal closure as the substitute for the *h* in pronunciation) in these newly formed interior recursives is transferred to the initial syllable, affecting the quality of the consonant in that initial syllable. Thus we have —

Written Bengali	Standard Colloquial (West Bengali)	Typical East Bengali
হাত *hāt* 'hand'	[ha:t]	[ʔa:t]
হয় *hay* 'is, are'	[hɔĕ]	[ʔɔĕ]
বাহির *bāhir* 'outside'	[bair, ba:r, be:r]	[baʔir > bʔair]

Written Bengali	Standard Colloquial (West Bengali)	Typical East Bengali
বেহাই *behāi* (<*vaivāhika*)	[beai]	[bʔiai< biʔai]
শহর, সহর *śahar, sahar* 'city'	[śɔhɔr, śɔɔr]	[śɔʔɔr, śʔɔ:r]
সন্দেহ *sandēha* 'doubt'	[śɔndeo]	[śɔndeʔɔ >śʔɔndeɔ]
বহিন্ *bahin* 'sister'	[boin>bon]	[buʔin >bʔuin]
খা *khā* 'eat'	[kha:]	[kha:]
ঘা *ghā* 'wound'	[gha:]	[gʔa:]
ঘোড়া *ghoṛā* 'horse'	[ghoṛa]	[gʔora, gʔura]
বাঘ *bāgh* 'tiger'	[ba:g]	[ba:gʔ >bʔa:g]
ঝড় *jhaṛ* 'storm'	[ɟhɔ:ṛ]	[dzʔɔ:r]
সাঁঝ *sā̃jh* 'evening'	[śã:ɟh]	[śandzʔ >śʔandz]
ধান *dhān* 'paddy'	[dha:n]	[dʔa:n]
ভাত *bhāt* 'boiled rice'	[bha:t]	[bʔa:t]
লাভ *lābh* 'gain'	[la:b, la:β]	[la:bʔ >lʔa:b]
ভাগ *bhāg* 'share ; luck'	[bha:g]	[bʔa:g]
মধ্য *madhya* 'middle'	[moddho]	[moiddʔɔ >mʔoiddɔ]

There are other points to note about the recursive and glottal stop pronunciation in East Bengali, but these details need not be considered in the present connexion. In Panjabi, various kinds of modification of the *h* and the voiced aspirated stops are noticeable : a typical one is what is found in what may be called Standard Eastern Panjabi, which includes the dialect of North-Eastern Panjab. There the modification of the voiced aspirates is accompanied by change in tone. (The Panjabi unvoiced aspirates are not changed.) An initial voiced aspirate becomes an unvoiced stop with a low rising (or low rising-falling) tone, which is represented by the symbol [ᴗ]: thus, Hindi *bhūkh* 'hunger' (<*bubhukṣā, buhukkhā)* becomes in Panjabi [puᴗkkh], Skt. *dhyāna* is transformed to [tiᴗan], Panjabi (written) *ḍhaggā* = 'ox, bull' becomes [ṭᴗʌgga :], *jhāṛū* 'broom' becomes [cᴗa:ṛu], and *ghōṛā*, [kᴗo:ṛa]. When occurring in the interior of words, they are deaspirated, but with change of

tone: when the following vowel is stressed, it takes low rising tone (indicated thus [J]): thus, *kaṛhā́* 'boiled' = [kʌṛJa:], and when the stressed vowel comes before, it obtains a high falling tone (symbol, [`]): thus, *báddhā* 'bound' = [b`ʌdda:], *déoṛhā* = '1½' [d`eoṛa], *kújjh* 'something, somewhat' = [k`uJJ], *sámjh* 'understand' = [s`ʌmJ`], etc. In words like *bhābhī* 'brother's wife', *ḍhīḍh* 'stomach', *jhaṅghī* 'coppice', with two aspirates, we get two tones side by side: thus, [pʊa:`bi], [ṭʊi:`ḍ], [cʊʌ`ṅgi] The loss of independent *h* where it occurs is also accompanied by tone: thus—*hátth* 'hand' = [hʊʌtth], *hás* 'smile' [hʊʌs], *hasā́* 'cause to smile' = [əsʊa:], *bahā́* 'to cause to sit = [bəʊa:] *báih* 'sit' = [b`əe], *Lahōr* 'Lahore' = [lʊʌor] (from earlier **Hālaura* < *Sālātura);* [tri`ũ], oblique of *trai* 'three', from earlier *trihũ*; etc., etc.*

Here we have a number quite disconcerting sets of changes of original Indo-Aryan aspirates, which are among the characteristic sounds of the language. But other NIA. also shows analogous changes, e.g., the Pahari or Himalayan Indo-Aryan dialects, the Rajasthani dialects and Gujarati. This question should be fully looked into by native speakers of Gujarati familiar particularly with Rajasthani (e.g. Marwari) and with the more important forms of neighbouring Indo-Aryan. Gujarati speakers are quite conscious of the modification brought about in the articulation of the *h* and the aspirates, and hence the use for the subscribed ्ह (*h*) in Gujarati orthography: ब्हेन, ब्हेचर, ग्हेलो *b-hēn, b-hēcar, g-hēlō* etc. This behaviour of *h*, changed to the glottal stop, i.e. of the aspiration to the glottal closure, in inducing a recursive articulation of connected consonants, is quite noticeable in Gujarati: e.g. Persian *šahr* >

* Acoustically, as Dr. Siddheshwar Varma informs me, there is no aspiration audible in the change [bh, dh, ḍh] etc. in Panjabi, but he thinks there is a quantity of breath accompanying the following vowel, which may be a characteristic feature of the tone.

શેહેર *śeher* 'city' = [ś?e:r], લેહેર *leher* 'wave' = [l?e:r], Skt. *araghaṭṭa* > Pkt. *arahaṭṭa, arahaṇṭa* > રહેંટ *rahẽṭ* 'wheel, machine' = [r?e:ṭ], કહાર *kahār* 'bearer' = [k?a:r], Persian *jawāhir* 'gems, jewels' > ઝવેર *jhavēr* = [ɟ?ʌβer], Persian *zahr* 'poison' > જેહેર *jeher*, ઝહેર *j-her*, ઝેર *jhēr* = [ɟ?e:ɾ], પેહેરણ *peheraṇ* 'apparel = [p?erəṇ], પેહેલ *pehel* 'first' = [p?e:l], બહોત *bahōt* 'much' = [b?o:t], Skt. *dvi+ubhau* > બેઉ for બેહુ *behu* 'both' = [b?eu], Skt. *mahāmātra* > મહાત *mahāt* 'mahout, elephant-driver' = [m?a:t], *mēgha* > મેહ *mēh* 'cloud' = [m?e:], રહઠાણ *rahathān* 'abode' = [r?e:tha:n], વહાણ *vahāṇ* 'ship' = [β?a:ṇ], *sādhu* > સાહુ *sāhu* 'honest' = [s?a:u], *vadhū* > વહુ *vahu* = [β?ʌu], સહાણું *sahāṇũ* 'grown up' (cf. Marathi *śahāṇā*) = [s?a:ṇu], *sahaja* = [s?e:ɟ], etc. etc.

In the case of the interior voiced aspirates, these also turn their glottal opening for the aspiration [h] into the glottal closure, and then the glottal closure is transferred, so to say, to the initial syllable—when the initial syllable begins with another consonant: thus *dēṛh* '1½' = *dēṛ* > [d?e:ṛ]; *mōṭ* = [m?o:ṭ] 'large', cf. Marathi *mōṭhā*, Rajasthani also *mōṭhā*; *lāth* 'kick' = [l?a:t]; *vēḍh* 'finger-ring' = [β?e:ṛ]; *luṭhavũ* 'to plunder' = [l?uṭəβũ]; *dāṛh* 'molar tooth' = [d'a:ṛ]; *rījhavũ* 'to be pleased' = [ɾ?iɟəβũ]; *vaḍhvāḍh* 'dispute' = [β?ʌɽβ?a:ɽ]; *sā̃jh* 'evening' > [s?ã:ɟ] and *aḍhār* '18' = [ʌḍ?a:r], and *amē* 'we' (from earlier *amhahi*) = [ʌm?e]; etc., etc.

The question need not be detailed out from other forms of NIA. It may be asked, how far is this kind of pronunciation an innovation in NIA., or an inheritance from MIA.? If this were an inheritance, then we may further legitimately ask if it goes back to OIA., and if there are any traces of, or anything analogous to, this kind of pronunciation in Vedic, for instance. If the thing is old, i.e. if it can be shown to be as old as OIA., then there would be some good support from this for the theory of *Inner and Outer Indo-Aryan* proposed by A. F. R. Hoernle and elaborated linguistically by Sir George Abraham Grierson, but combated by most other students of

Indo-Aryan, including the present writer. According to this theory, the IA. languages of the present day fall into two Groups—an *Inner,* which embraces only the Western Hindi group of dialects,—Braj-bhakha, Bundeli, Kanauji, 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Bangaru, and Hindi (Hindusthani or Hindustani) with Urdu—and which is surrounded by a ring of *Outer* languages and dialects, like Western Panjabi, Sindhi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Oriya, Bengali and Assamese, the Bihari dialects, and the Pahari speeches of the Himalayan regions. The Inner and Outer groups according to Grierson possess some noteworthy differences in phonetics and phonology, and in morphology. Apart from these two groups, there are certain dialect groups which have been named *Intermediate,* which are just members of the outer group very strongly influenced by the Inner one. Eastern Hindi is such an Intermediate Dialect group, and Eastern Panjabi, Rajasthani and Gujarati also show similar influences from, and even overlapping with the Inner Group. The difference between the two groups is due, according to Hoernle and Grierson, to the fact that they represent the dialects of two distinct groups or bands of Aryan invaders or settlers, who came on two separate occasions. The Outer Group of Aryans were the first to come into India, and settled down at first in what was called the *Madhyadēśa* or the Midland, i.e. Western U.P. and Eastern Panjab of the present day. This Outer Group was related to the Dardic section of the Aryans, which now inhabits Kashmir and the N.W. of the India-Afghanistan borderland, and which was scattered along the slopes of the Himalayas also. The Inner Group followed later, and drove out the Outer Group from its original settlements in the Midland, and forced the latter to scatter North and East as well as West and South, forming a sort of a circle round the Inner Group of the present day. This theory as I have just now said is not accepted by the linguisticians. Mr. Ramāprasād Chanda gave the partial support of anthropology to this theory in some of its aspects. According to him, the original Aryans represent racially two peoples, bound together by ties of common language and culture. One of these was

dolichocephalic or long-headed, the other mesocephalic or middle-headed. The long-heads are represented by the Inner Aryans, and the middle-heads by the people of Gujarat, Orissa and Bengal, besides those of other tracts; so that any special agreements between Bengali and Gujarati (if they exist at all) as two 'Outer' languages of the West and the East, are due to original racial diversity among the Aryans, and to a special racial affinity between the peoples of Gujarat and Bengal.

Linguistically this theory does not appear to be acceptable, and Ramāprasād Chanda's anthropological interpretation is not conclusive either, as it goes counter to the Inner and Outer theory in some vital points. But it must be admitted that in the matter of the treatment of the aspirates the Inner language (Western Hindi) and one of the Intermediate languages (Eastern Hindi) stand by themselves—they retain the proper OIA. aspirates, while the Outer languages which form a ring round these two, viz. Panjabi and Lahndi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, Bengali and Assamese, the Bihari dialects (partly), and the sub-Himalayan Pahari languages—treat the voiced (and occasionally unvoiced) aspirates, and *h*, in various new ways; the glottal closure treatment being the common one, with the introduction of a tonal element partially, in East Bengali. Tonal modification has largely replaced the aspirate and the voiced aspirated stops in Panjabi; and in Sindhi unaspirated consonants have developed an implosive articulation under certain circumstances. How far can the behaviour in this matter of New Indo-Aryan languages other than Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi be traced? We do not have enough materials to go by, but with what indications we possess, it would appear that this change in articulation occurred independently in the different New Indo-Aryan tracts—the ultimate result, it may be, of the recrudescence of non-Aryan speech-habits which could not tackle the very distinctive voiced aspirates of Indo-Aryan which are not so common in other languages; and, as in the case of Austric, the possession of checked consonants (as in Mundari, Santali etc.) probably hindered the full

acceptance of the Aryan aspirates. Authentic materials for the study of Modern Indo-Aryan languages prior to 1500 A.D. are wanting in most forms of NIA. excepting for Marathi, Gujarati and Bengali. For East Bengali, it would seem reasonable to assume that the recursive pronunciation of the voiced aspirates was in vogue from at least the 10th century A.D., on the evidence of a Sanskrit-Tibetan Formulary of that period (edited and published from Paris by J. Hackin in 1924). For Gujarati the Old Western Rajasthani or Early Gujarati, so brilliantly described and discussed by the late L. P. Tessitori (*Indian Antiquary,* 1914-1916) supplies some scanty evidence—we only find a full *h* in words which now have the glottal closure : e.g. Gujarati [mˀelʌi] < *mēhalaï* 'descends'; [dˀaṛo] < *dihāḍaü, *dihaaḍaü* < *diahaḍaü* < **divasṭakaḥ* 'day'; [pˀera:βe] < *pahirāvaï* < **parihāvei* < **paridhāpayati* ; [βˀa:l] 'love' < *vāhilu* < *vallahu* < *vallabhaḥ* ; [sˀamu] 'in front' < *sāhamaü* < *sāmahaü sāmuhaü* < *sammukha-ka-;* etc. The *h* may indicate a full aspirate in Old Gujarati, or it may have been employed to denote a hiatus, or even the glottal closure accompaniment. It is not possible to find out from the orthography the value of the voiced aspirates. Thus the problem remains unsolved. But the occurrence of the glottal stop for *h* in Rajasthani, and the recursive pronunciation of the voiced aspirates in it also would suggest that this kind of pronunciation is probably an inheritance from at least the Apabhraṁśa stage in both Rajasthani and Gujarati.

Important developments have taken place in some of the NIA. dialects in the matter of stress and vowel length, and Bengali is quite an extreme case which has deviated a good deal from what may be described as the Common New Indo-Aryan Type represented by Hindi (Hindusthani or Hindustani). In Bengali (at least in the standard dialect, the other dialects have not been fully studied in this matter), the stress is a dominant initial stress in isolated words, but when a word enters a sentence, its stress becomes subjected to the stress-scheme for that bit of the sentence in which the word occurs. Each sentence is

split up into a number of bits which have been called *Breath Groups,* and in each breath-group there is one dominant stress, which always falls on the initial syllable of the first word which begins the breath-group, and the other words lose their stress. Thus, কাল আমরা তীর্থ-যাত্রা ক'রতে বেরোবো|*'kāl āmrā | 'tīrthā-jātrā ka'rtē | 'berobō* 'to-morrow we shall start on a pilgrimage', তুমি কাল আমাদের বাড়ীতে এসে মধ্যাহ্ন-ভোজন ক'রবে*tumi | 'kāl āmāder | 'bāṛītē ēśē | 'madhyāhna-bhōjan | ka'rbē,* 'tomorrow you will come to our house and have lunch (midday meal)', etc. This peculiar stress system in which the rhythm of the sentence dominates both word-stress and vowel-length (this matter has been touched upon before, see *supra,* Lecture III, p. 82) is quite contrary to the fixed stress system of Hindi, in which we find the stress to be generally on a long syllable towards the end of the word and this stress is not so much subservient to the sentence rhythm; and it has been sought to be explained as another indication of the non-Aryan substratum–initial stress being the characteristic of Dravidian (in its early stage, as suggested by K. V. Subbaiya, *Indian Antiquary* for 1909) and of the Tibeto-Burman dialects.

I did not discuss Tibeto-Burman, one of the branches of the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese family, before, while taking note of the non-Aryan languages in India in my second lecture. Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese is the name given to the family of speeches embracing Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese and Chinese, and a host of other languages spoken on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, in Nepal, in North Bengal, and in Assam, and it includes also languages and dialects current in North-East and East Bengal and the India-Burma frontier, as well as in Burma. The Tibetans according to a Buddhist tradition of doubtful value came to Tibet from the primitive Tibeto-Chinese homeland (near the sources of the Yang-tsze-Kiang) during the middle of the 1st year-thousand B.C. Tribes allied to both the Tibetans and the Burmese (for convenience called 'Tibeto-Burman tribes') penetrated into India through both Tibet and Assam, and they

spread over the whole of Assam and a considerable part of North and East Bengal, where they undoubtedly form a submerged element in the population, now Muhammadan and Hindu in religion, and Bengali and Assamese in speech. It has been suggested that certain East Bengal characterstics in the phonology of the Bengali consonants—particularly the treatment of *c, j* as *ts, dz,* and certain points in morphology and in syntax —cf. for instance, the case of the frequency of the conjunctive indeclinable (corresponding to the Sanskrit gerunds in *-tvā* and *-ya)* in Bengali etc.—are due to Tibeto-Burman influences in the formative period of Bengali in pre-Turki times. The Tibeto-Burman tribes of India had no high or mentionable civilisation, no noteworthy culture, and they had very little to give in the building up of Indian civilisation; and, besides, their advent into India was late, and their influence restricted to Nepal, North and East Bengal, and Assam.

In phonetics as in other matters, the normal development according to the speech-habits of the locality in a particular linguistic area has been frequently interfered with by the introduction of words and forms from a neighbouring language, or even from a distant one. Thus Hindi has been dominated by Panjabi in certain matters, and Bengali has been influenced by the Upper Indian languages, by the Bihari dialects, themselves under the suzerainty of Hindi or Hindust(h)ani. In Panjabi, for instance, the double or long consonants of MIA. still survive—e.g. *camm (< carma), kall (< kalya-), sacc (< satya), kujjh (=kiñcit), hatth (<hasta), natth (<nastā* 'nose-ring'), *rattī (<raktikā)* 'a red berry, used as a weight', etc., and *cäddar, ummēd* for Persian *cādar* 'sheet of cloth', *umēd* 'hope' while in Hindi these have been simplified to single ones; yet in Hindust(h)ani (High Hindi and Urdu) we have *cām* and *hāth,* but *kăl, săc, kŭch, năth, răttī* and *căddar* beside *cādar, ummēd* as an alternative pronunciation of *umēd,* instead of the expected **kāl, *sāc, *kūch *nāth, *rātī,* and only *cādar* and *umēd.* The Hindi *kăl, săc,* etc. are just borrowed or imposed Panjabi forms with short *ă*: the long consonant at the end being not suitable for the basic pho-

netics of Hindi, it was shortened to a short or single consonant. The stream of linguistic influence has flowed in India generally from the West, from the Panjab, the fountain-head of Aryan influence and expansion in India, to the East; and this predominance is partly traditional, partly due to the energy of the Panjab people, and to some extent to the fact that when Hindi was evolving Panjab Muhammadans had a big voice in the centres of Muhammadan rule in North India—at least in the early period of Turki and Indian Muhammadan rule in North India. So we have in Bengali *pāhārolā* from Hindi *paharā-wālā* beside native Bengali *pāhārālā* 'watchman, constable'; *bāṛīolā* <Hindi *bāṛīwālā* beside genuine Bengali *bāṛīālā* 'house-owner, landlord'; *Kiṣeṇ-jī* 'Krishna, an image of Krishna worshipped in a temple' from Hindi *semi-tatsama Kisan* beside the genuine Bengali *semi-tatsama Keṣṭo*; etc. etc. Hindi influences similarly penetrated into Gujarati and Marathi, into Nepali and other speeches. With the prestige of the Delhi court, and with the gradual establishment in the 19th-20th centuries of Urdu or Musalmani Hindi as the language *par excellence* of Muhammadan thought and culture in India, the Hindusthani language-area partially got its own back by making Panjabi and even Pashto come within the sphere of Midland influence; and Bengali as a highly Sanskritised language with an advanced literature similarly exerted a counter-influence on literary Hindi, in extending its Sanskrit vocabulary and occasionally modifying it according to its own peculiar *cachet*, and in supplying a number of other terms, especially foreign (e.g. Portuguese, English) words, for which as a seaboard language Bengali had to act as a natural channel for Hindi. Gujarati and Marathi have similarly influenced, though to a lesser extent, literary Hindi.

Phonetic changes within the NIA. period completed the outward transformation of Indo-Aryan. The *rôle* of the sounds has changed remarkably from OIA. to NIA. The old vowels and consonants had an etymological value, as in Sanskrit; they are from MIA. downwards, and particularly in NIA., dependent more on neighbouring sounds vocal and consonantal, i.e. more

on their relative force, on their entourage. A new equilibrium for the phonetic system thus came to be established. Epenthesis, Umlaut, Vowel-Harmony, Weakening of Unaccented Syllables (for instance reducing *ā* to *ă* i.e. [ʌ, ə] and *ē* and *ō* to *i,u*), Licences with Vowel Quantity as in Urdu poetry, etc., which were never contemplated in OIA., became noteworthy habits in NIA. Extreme cases are presented by Bengali and by Kashmirī. (The latter does not, however, represent a NIA. speech of the Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan group properly—it is a *Dardic* language. The question of these Dardic speeches is touched upon later.) Precise vowels and consonants have a clear and precise relation to the facts of morphology; and when the sound-system lost its earlier precision, and a new order came to be established, as a result of a quicker articulation, the morphology could not remain unaltered—it sought new ways of functioning.

The morphology of NIA., more than phonology, was a permutation and combination of old materials. The actual inheritance from OIA. was very meagre, which was eked out by a few formations in the case of the noun only in MIA. The OIA. declension with its 24 forms (including those for the vocative case) became reduced in MIA. theoretically to five or six, which were further curtailed, practically to two, in most forms of NIA. in their earlier phases. We note only these forms over a very wide area: a nominative singular, an instrumental singular, a locative singular (or a dative singular), an instrumental plural, a genitive plural, and occasionally a nominative plural. The instrumental and genitive plural forms were extended to the nominative. In a language like Hindi, we have practically four forms in the case of a 'strong' noun in *-ā*: a nominative singular, an instrumental plural functioning as nominative plural, a locative singular of uncertain but probably Old Indo-Aryan origin, and a genitive plural (e.g. OIA. nom. sg. *ghōṭakaḥ* =nom. sg. Hindi *ghōḍā,* Braj *ghōḍau;* instr. pl. OIA. **ghōṭakēbhiḥ*=Hindi nom. pl. *ghōḍahi*> *ghōḍē;* OIA. locative singular **ghoṭakadhi*=*ghōḍaahi*> *ghōḍē,* Hindi oblique singular; OIA. genitive plural *ghōṭakānām* = Hindi oblique pl. *ghōḍō̃,* dialectally *ghōḍan, ghōḍā̃*). In the case of a noun ending in

a consonant, we have even less: e.g. nom. sg. *putraḥ* > *pūt*; nom. pl. *putrāḥ* > *pūt;* loc. sg. *putrē* > *pūt;* gen. pl. *putrāṇām* > *pūtō̃* (*putā̃*, *pūtan*, dialectal); so nom. sg. *vārtā* > *bāt*; nom. pl. **vārtāni* (with neuter affix *-āni* extended to the feminine) > *bātē̃*; *vārtā* (base form) > *bāt*; gen. pl. *vārtānām* > *bātō̃*. Other languages have preserved other inflexions of OIA.: thus in Marathi the genitive-dative features in place of the locative-oblique, and the nominative plural is retained (e.g. nom. sg., *dēvaḥ* > *dēv*, pl. *dēvāḥ* > *dēv*; dative sg. *dēvāya* > Marathi oblique sg. *dēvā*, gen. pl. *dēvānām* > obl. pl. *dēvā̃*; nom. sg. *iṣṭā* > *īṭ*, nom. pl. *iṣṭāḥ*, MIA. *iṭṭāō* > nom. pl. *iṭā*; dative sg. *iṣṭāyai*, MIA. *iṭṭāē* > Marathi obl. sg. *iṭē*, gen. pl. *iṣṭānām* > obl. pl. *iṭā̃*). This slender survival from OIA. had to be supported by new methods. Post-positive words came in from MIA. Some of the MIA. post-positions also found their way into Sanskrit. Thus, *tasya kṛtē* or *tasyārthē dattam* for *tasmai dattam*, *gṛhābhimukhaṁ gacchati* for simple *gṛhaṁ gacchati*, *tasya dvārēṇa* or *tatkartṛkaṁ kṛtam* for simple *tēna kṛtam*, *parvatasya upari* for *parvatē*, *jala-madhyē* for *jalē*, etc. The restriction of the old Aryan prepositions to the function of preverbials (*upasargas*) left the language bereft of these vital words for indicating relationship in the sentence. Some words of direction or proximity were in use after the noun in OIA., e.g. *samīpa*, *antika*, *nikaṭa*, *pārśva*, etc.

There was the example also of Dravidian and Austric—one should say not example, but the subtle working of the suppressed non-Aryan speeches. In this way, not only nouns, but participles, gerunds and other verb-forms came to be added to the noun, with or without inflexion, to indicate case-relationship. A formative affix also took up occasionally the function of a case: e.g. *ghōṭaka-tya-* > **ghōḍaacca-* > Marathi *ghōḍācā*. These nouns and participles were themselves furnished with what meagre case-inflexion was available as a relic from OIA. The earlier case-indicators which were established in MIA. underwent phonetic reduction like all other elements in the speech, and from these were derived a good many new affixes in NIA.,

affixes of which the phonetic simplification was so great that it was not easily possible to suggest their sources and to realise their original forces. Thus, e.g. from OIA. *kārya-* (through a MIA. *sts.* form **kāira-* > *kēra-, kēla-*), we get the Bengali genitive affix *-er, -r;* from the *tbh.* form of *kārya-*, viz. *kayya-* > *kajja-*, we have the Sindhi genitive affix *-jā, -jī ;* from *karṇa-* > *kaṇṇa-*, we have the Hindi agentive affix *-nē*, the Rajasthani-Gujarati dative affix *-nē*, the Panjabi dative *-nū̃*, and the Gujarati genitive *-nō, -nī, -nā, -nū̃ ;* from *antar* > *anta*, the Bengali locative forms *-t, -t-ē*, etc. have come, and the Marathi locative *-ā̃t*; *kakṣa* > *kakkha*, reduced to *kakha* (as a *sts.*) and then to *kaha*, gave the Hindi dative *kahu* > *-kō*, the Sindhi *kahi* > *-khē*. So the prepositions *upari, prati*, used as post-positional nouns, supplied the Hindi locative affixes *par, pai* or *pa*. This presents a very characteristic phenomenon in NIA.—a word garnished with an inflexion functions as a case-indicating form, and then is itself reduced to a mere inflexion. The principle has been extended in NIA., when we have a new declension of inflected or post-positional forms: e.g. Marathi *ghari-cā*, Gujarati *ā-dēś-mā-nā lōkō ;* Bengali *ihā-r āgē-kār, bāhirē-kār, gharēr bhitar-ē-kār*, Dakni Hindustani *mērē-kū* 'to me' for *mujhē* or *mujh-kō*, Hindi *us-mē̃-sē*.

Verbal participles like *kṛta* 'done' **dita* 'given' < √*dā* (in place of the Skt. reduplicated form *datta*), *sat-ka* > *sakka*, *santa* or *ahanta* < √*as*, **thakkiya* < *stabh*+*kṛ* (?), similarly took up the post-positive function (from these we have Hindi genitive *-kā*, Panjabi genitive *-dā*, Early Assamese *sāk* (=*hāk*), Kashmiri (Dardic) genitive *sŏndu*, Gujarati ablative affixes *thī* and *thakī*, Bengali ablative forms *haitē* > *hōtē* and *thākiyā* > *thēkē*). These were also extended in NIA. when some new conjunctives came into use (e.g. Bengali *diyā* 'having given' for the instrumental, Hindi *kari* > *kar* 'having done', etc). In this matter, too, there has been approximation of Indo-Aryan to Dravidian.

In the Eastern, and to some extent the Central, languages a new way of indicating the plural of the noun came in by em-

ploying a strong form of the genitive singular and some word of multitude after it. This word of multitude was then dropped in some of the languages, leaving the singular genitive alone to function as plural. This manifested itself first in the pronoun, and it was extended to the noun in Bengali. Thus we have Maithili *hamarā-sabh* (cf. genitive *hămăr*='mine', originally 'our'), Middle Bengali *āmi-saba* (nominative plural+noun of multitude), beside *āmhārā, tōmhārā,* and *āmarā, tomarā+saba,* etc., Bhojpuriya *hamanī-kā*='we', lit. 'our', *tŏhanī-kā* 'you', lit. 'your'; Bundeli *hamārē, tihārē* 'we, you', lit. 'our, your'. In Bengali this gave the *-ērā, -rā* affix for the plural of animate nouns: *lōkērā-sab, mā(y)ērā-sab* = 'the group (lit. all) of the people, of the mothers', then *lōkērā, mā(y)ērā* = 'people, mothers'.

To indicate the plural, after the plural affixes inherited from OIA. were lost and the instrumental and genitive plural forms were extended to function as the nominative as well (and this was not found to be satisfying), the system of forming the plural by agglutination or compounding was more widely adopted. This agglutination is suggestive of Dravidian influence. Thus, words like *sab(h)a* (<*sarva*=*sabba*+*sabhā*), *sakala, samūha, gaṇa, lōka*> *lōk, lōg, mānava*> *māna, men, man, jana, kula*> *gula* (*gulā, guli*), *ādi, sarva*> *har* (*haru*), etc. came to be added to the noun, and the compounded word indicating the plural was declined as if it were a singular noun: e.g. *lōk-guli-kē* (Bengali) 'to the men'; but *bandar-lōgō̃-sē* (Hindi) 'from the monkeys'. Agglutination or compounding to indicate the plural is found in MIA., and in Skt., but there it is exceptional, as a rhetorical or stylistic device more than any thing else. In NIA. this was felt as a necessity.

The gradual development honorific pronouns forms another peculiarity of some forms of New Indo-Aryan. A tendency towards this is already noticeable in Sanskrit–in OIA. as a matter of fact, when *bhavān, bhavatī* and a few similar words used in the third person began to feature as honorifics. But in this matter, the languages of the West are more conservative

than those of the Midland or the East: in Marathi, Gujarati-Rajasthani, Panjabi and Sindhi the old first person singular is still the rule (*mī̃, hū̃, mẽ, maī̃, mū̃*), but in the Eastern languages the old plural of the first person has taken up the function of the singular, and new plural forms have had to be built up with the help of the old singular or plural base: the old singular has generally become obsolete, or is found as a vulgar form (only in Assamese and in North Bengali among the dialects of the East the old singular functions as singular, and the plural as plural): thus Bihari *ham,* Bengali *āmi* (the old singular *mui* is vulgar), Oriya *āmbhe* (*mū̃* is vulgar); but in Assamese we have sg. *mai,* pl. *āmi.* Western Hindi preferred the old order, and in Standard Hindi (and Urdu) consequently we have *maī̃—ham,* Braj. *haū̃—ham* (cf. Gujarati *hū̃—amẽ),* but the composite character of Hindi or Hindusthani has brought about the common employ of *ham* for 'I', and a new agglutinated plural *ham-lōg* for 'we' naturally had to be built up. This restriction of the old singular for the 1st person appears to have been on the analogy of the similar treatment of the 2nd person in which politeness demanded (as in most languages) the curtailment of the bare singular 2nd person in addressing persons, and the plural was in consequence set up for the singular (cf. French *vous* and *tu,* English *you* and *thou,* German *Sie* and *Du,* and the use of the forms *lei* and *Usted* in Italian and Spanish respectively for 'you' in the singular). Another noteworthy fact is the development of the reflexive pronoun based on OIA. *ātman*=MIA. *appaṇ-,* for the second person (or third person) honorific. This would appear to have started on its way in Western Hindi, and then its honorific use was extended to the other speech-areas as a suitable polite form for the second person.

If the Noun Declension in NIA. shows a number of inheritances from MIA., the Conjugation of the Verb would appear to be mainly a NIA. development. Losses went on even in the little that was received from MIA. The inflected passive and the optative, and the inflected or sigmatic future (*caliṣyāmi* > *calissāmi* > **calīhāmi* > Braj. *calihaū̃, calissaṁ* or **callis-*

saṁ > Gujarati *cāliś)* were considerably curtailed during NIA. times in the different areas. The most noteworthy fact has been the establishment of some of the participles as tense bases: *kṛta*>*kia-, kīna-, kīdha-*; *kṛta-alla, -illa*>*kayalla kayilla*>*kail-, kēl*; *kurvant-* > *karanta-*> *kartā, kardā, karit-, karat-*; *kartavya-* > *karib-, karab-, kariv-*, etc. NIA. started with three tenses — a Simple Present (which has become the 'aorist' or optative in many language areas), a Simple Past (everywhere of participial origin, being ultimately from the OIA. passive participle in *-ta, -ita)*, and a Simple Future (either inflected and derived from the old sigmatic future of OIA., or of participial origin, being from the future passive participle in *-itavya-* or from the present participle in *-ant-)*.

The Aryan language in the NIA. stage as a whole inherited for the Past Tense an Active Construction in the case of the Intransitive Verbs (in which the verb was an adjective qualifying the subject), and a Passive Construction in the case of Transitive Verbs (the verb here being an adjective which qualified the object), or a Neuter Construction (in which the action of the verb stood by itself, and was irrespective of any object, the object itself being transformed into a dative of interest only): thus, *sa gataḥ*> Hindi *wah gayā*, Braj-bhakha *sō gayau* (Active Construction); *tēna bhaktaṁ khāditam*> Hindi *us-nē bhāt khāyā, tēna rōṭikā khāditā*> Hindi *us-nē rōṭī khāī* (Passive Construction); *tēna rājñaḥ kṛtē* or *kakṣē* **dṛkṣitam=dṛṣṭam* > Hindi *us-nē rājā-kō dēkhā* (Neuter Construction). These *Prayōgas* have on the whole been preserved intact in Western Hindi and Eastern Panjabi, but in the other areas a good many innovations of greater or lesser degree have come up. Thus, the Passive Construction has been turned into an Active one in the Eastern languages by making the past base a regular verb to which personal terminations corresponding to the subject have been added in the Bihari dialects, in Awadhi, in Bengali-Assamese-Oriya: e.g. Old Bengali *mār-il-a* (m. and n.) *mār-il-ī* (f.) 'struck', was a past verb-form which was used as an adjective qualifying the object following the old passive construction, but in Modern Bengali we have active forms like

mār-il-ām 'I struck', *mār-il-i* 'thou struckest', *mār-il-ă* (or dialectally *mār-il-ē* > *mārlē, māllē*) 'he struck'. In Rajasthani-Gujarati the Passive and the Neuter Constructions have coalesced into one: e.g. Gujarati—*tē-nē strī-nē mārī* (not *māryũ*) = 'by-him with-regard-to-the-woman she-was-beaten', which would equate with a possible Hindi sentence like **us-nē strī-kō mārī* (instead of *mārā*). Personal terminations as added to the verb came in after the full development of NIA., and it is an independent development in each of the different languages: in Bengali, even East Bengali personal terminations of the verb are different from a good many West Bengali ones. Western Panjabi and Sindhi kept up the old Passive Construction, and yet added the personal terminations relating to the subject: e.g. Lahndi (W. Panjabi) *kitāb paṛhī-m* = 'I have read the book' – lit. 'the-book (fem.) she-was-read-by-me'; and in Marathi we note personal terminations added to the intransitive verbs only (*mī uṭhalõ* 'I got up', as opposed to *myā mārilā, mārilī, mārilẽ* 'by-me he- (she, it)-was-beaten').

The old *Simple Tenses* were augmented in NIA. by a number of *Compound Tenses* which sought to indicate various nuances of time. The Progressive and Perfect Tenses, and, with or without the help of conjunctions, the Conditional and Optional and other forms developed independently in the different languages. This quest for precision in indicating the time-factor in the action of the verb is indeed a great advance in Indo-Aryan since the original tenses and moods inherited or built up by OIA. broke down in the MIA. period, and in some modern IA. dialects clear-cut tense-forms are yet to come. On the whole, these compound tenses are not noticeable in MIA., and in OIA. they do not exist at all. In their general line of development they agree with the similar compound tenses in some other Indo-European groups—e.g. the Iranian, and the Germanic and the Latin, allowing for special developments in each. Indo-Aryan has therefore sought successfully to keep abreast of the new age.

In Morphology, Indo-Aryan has so far utilised the avail-

able native materials to the fullest, and herein, as also in Phonetics and in Syntax, its native character has not been tampered with much, much less destroyed. The morphological development of the NIA. languages has on the whole been uniform. The agreements are so close among these languages that it would seem that there was a substantial unity among the dialects of MIA. upto the very birth of NIA., inspite of dialectal variations. This unity, as Professor Jules Bloch pointed out, has been that presented by Sanskrit as the *fons et origo* of Indo-Aryan speech and as its great pattern and examplar.

Only the Dardic speeches kept aloof from this common pan-Indian development. The same may be said, to a lesser extent, of Sinhalese and of the Gipsy speeches of Asia and Europe also. The Dardic speeches (formerly called *Piśāca*) are a group of languages and dialects spoken in the extreme North-West of India and in the N-W. of the Indo-Afghan borderland. They fall into three branches: (1) Shina, including Kashmiri (1,268,854 people), Shina proper (24,482 speakers) to the North and North-West of Kashmiri, and Kohistani (6,862) in N.W.F. Province above Dargai and Malakand; (2) Khowar or Chitrali or Chatrārī, in the N.W.F. Province, North of Kohistani; and (3) the Kafiristan (now called 'Nuristan') dialects, in Afghan territory to the west of Khowari and Kohistani (including Kalāshā, Gawar-Batī, Pashai, Laghmānī, Dīrī, Tirāhī, Wai, Wasi-verī, Ashkund, etc.) These languages and dialects were placed by Grierson in a group by themselves: Indo-Iranian he divided into three groups: (1) Iranian in the West, (2) Indo-Aryan in the East and (3) Dardic in between the two, at the extreme North. Other scholars, Jules Bloch, Georg Morgenstierne and R. L. Turner have not accepted this three-fold division of Indo-Iranian: they are in favour of looking upon Dardic as a group within Indo-Aryan, and the Dardic languages according to this view should be classed among NIA. But two things are to be considered. It is admitted that in certain matters, Dardic shows an affinity with Iranian rather than with Indo-Aryan; and, then, the development of Dardic has followed quite independent lines, although sometimes con-

flicting amongst themselves;—excepting Kashmiri, which was linked up with the rest of Hindu India with its Hindu and Buddhist religion and the Sanskrit language, the Dardic speeches appear to have escaped Indo-Aryan, or rather plains Indian (i.e. mixed Aryan-Non-Aryan) influences, and to have been denied the benefit of the contact with India. During the centuries of the Śaka, the Kushan and other dynasties before and after Christ, the Dard people being in close proximity to great centres of international culture-contact like Taxila and Peshawar, Kabul and Kashmir, some elements of Buddhism and Brahmanism appear to have reached them; but on the whole, till recently when they have become or are becoming Muhammadans, they preserved fragments of the Indo-Aryan religion and mythology, worshipping *Im-rā* (< *Yama-rāja)* as a principal god in some of the tribes (e.g. the Bashgalīs). They are now being brought up to the level of the surrounding Muhammadan peoples—the Pathans and the Ghalcha tribes (this level is not much higher than their original state), and they represent, either a lapse to barbarism owing to the inhospitable nature of their home-land from a higher state of mental and material culture, or the original Indo-Iranians in their crude and primitive state minus the culture that is behind a traditional religion. The spirit of Dardic pronetics and morphology is different from that of Sanskritic Indo-Aryan, and their history as barbarian forms of *patois* is also different. Hence it would be best to take them apart from Indo-Aryan proper, with only such comparison in matters where they show agreement or contact as would make the elucidation of both Indo-Aryan and Dardic easier.

The Gipsy dialects of Asia and Europe (Persia, Armenia, Syria; Greece, the Balkans, Rumania, Hungary and Eastern Europe in General; Germany, France, Spain, England, Scotland and Wales) are a far-flung branch of Indo-Aryan which left India as the speech of some emigrating tribes a few centuries before Christ, these tribes taking with them Indo-Aryan dialects of North-Western affinities. This speech has been studied in different dialects, the most recent and most detailed

of such studies being that of the Gipsy dialect of Wales by the late Dr. John Sampson who has treated this form of Gipsy on a comparative basis with constant reference to Middle and New Indo-Aryan ('The Dialect of the Gipsies of Wales,' Oxford University Press, 1926). Although their territory is far away from India and these speeches have been cut off from Sanskrit, their development is really a part of the story of Indo-Aryan. But the subject being recondite, this, and the other one relating to the Dardic languages, deserve being treated separately, if only for preliminary information with a view to introduce them to the interested world in India and outside India. Among the _desiderata_ in Indian Linguistics, a thorough study of the Dardic speeches, and another of the Gipsy speeches outside India are of urgent necessity.

Sinhalese is another Indo-Aryan speech which probably went to Ceylon from Western India (Gujarat and Kathiawar, and also South Sindh?) during the second half of the 1st millennium B.C., and there it had a not entirely independent development of its own—it was evidently subject to the influence of dialects brought in by other settlers and sojourners from Aryan India, Eastern India (Bengal, Magadha) undoubtedly furnishing in later times some of these fresh elements. W. Geiger has done invaluable work in tracing the history of Sinhalese (cf. his historical 'Grammar of the Sinhalese Language,' Colombo, RAS. Ceylon Branch, 1938, besides earlier works), and this has gone parallelly to that of MIA. and NIA. on the mainland. The Western Indian affinities of Sinhalese are clear. It took up the form of Eḷu (from *_Hiaḷu_ <_Sihaḷu_ <_Siṁhala_) or Old Sinhalese in the 10th century, when we find in Ceylon a language in what may be called the Apabhraṁśa stage, showing phonetic decay along with some special phonetic changes, e.g. Vowel Harmony, Simplification of Double Consonants without Compensatory Lengthening, Loss of Final Vowels, etc. Sinhalese inspite of its independent and isolated history from the other (continental) Indo-Aryan languages, has not been an entirely new or original phenomenon: it rather presents a close parallel with continental Indo-

Aryan, and has, particularly in later times, been almost as much linked up with Sanskrit as the other languages, in addition to having a Pali vocabulary of religious words. Sinhalese spread to the Maldive Islands, the small Muhammadan population of which place speak a dialect of the language—just as the similarly situated people of the Laccadives speak a dialect of the Dravidian Mālayāḷam. The original non-Aryan language of Ceylon, the ancient *Veddah* or *Vädda* speech, is lost, the *Väddas* now using a dialect of Sinhalese: probably the Vädda speech was some form of Austric—Austronesian rather than Austro-Asiatic. The Dravidian Tamil came in early contact with Sinhalese. So the surroundings of Sinhalese were the same as those of continental Indo-Aryan, unlike that of Gipsy in its extra-Indian stages.

New Indo-Aryan was born within the atmosphere of Sanskrit, so to say. Genuine NIA. (i.e. the elements received as an inheritance from OIA.) was but an attenuated language, hardly able to shift for itself, as it were. The mother was ever ready to supply the child with nourishment, and NIA. began to replenish her stock of words with the abundance of Sanskrit. There was no other way, and we need not feel too much of a linguistician about it, and condemn the policy of borrowing Sanskrit words which came in as the most natural thing for NIA. to do. Even more than Latin for French, for Spanish and for Italian, Sanskrit was indispensable for the New Indo-Aryan languages. The percentage of Sanskrit in a NIA. speech depended upon the culture, i.e. Sanskrit culture of the writers in the direct ratio. From the earliest times, NIA. began to replenish itself with Sanskrit words: in many cases, this replenishment has been to saturation. It would be wrong to suppose that modern, 19th century pedantry started to overload Bengali and other NIA. languages with Sanskrit words, to make the language keep pace with English. There is no lack of Sanskrit words (and stiff words a good many of them, too) in the *Jñānēśvarī* and the *Rāma-carita-mānasa,* the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and the *Sūra-sāgara,* four old and popular works in as many NIA. dialects. The *Maṇi-pravāḷa* or mixed

Sanskrit-Mālayālam style, the highly Sanskritic style in Kannaḍa, the language of the Oriya romances of Sāraḷā-dāsa, the highly Sanskritised language of the old style *Kathakas* and *Vyāsas* i.e. *Purāṇa*-narrators in Bengal and elsewhere—all these did not present anything like an aberration, although at times it may be thought that they presented too much of a good thing. This has led to one inevitable result : the progressive restriction of the Prakritic *(tadbhava* and *dēśī)* inheritance in NIA., suppressing it by *tatsaṃa* and *semi-tatsama* words. This may have obscured the history of the language by overlaying it with Sanskrit. But a language is not merely for the sake of its history : the steady Sanskritisation formed an inestimable link to bind together into one cultural whole the NIA. languages, and to brace up their Aryan inheritance. The cultured Dravidian languages were also in this way linked up with the Indo-Aryan with stronger bonds than ever. As things stand, we may say that roughly 50% of the words of a modern Indo-Aryan language are borrowed Sanskrit—either as *tatsamas* without change of spelling, or as *semi-tatsamas*. When the NIA. languages first started on their new path, the number was consider ably less, naturally enough. In some works, the percentage is higher than 50%. There is nothing to feel any regret for this, considering that English has over 60% of its words from alien sources, French and Latin, and Persian has from 60% to 80% from the alien Arabic. The Sanskrit words, in their recent pure *tatsama* forms, and in their NIA. and MIA. *semi-tatsama* modifications, are a testimony of the continuity of the stream of Indian culture throughout the history of Indo-Aryan. These Saṅskrit words in the languages of India, Aryan and Dravidian, are a visible symbol of the Fundamental and Indivisible Unity of India. To my mind, any attempt to curb and to minimise the value of this symbol would be a direct attack on our most precious heritage, our Indian Cultural Tradition.

In recent years, two languages have come to the forefront in Indian life, which have sought to find a place to stand upon in Indo-Aryan, and from there to dominate Indian thought and culture and Indian life. One is Persian, or rather, Arabico-

Persian, which came to India in the wake of the Turki conquest and was the culture language of the Muhammadan conquerors of foreign origin and later of those Indian Muhammadans who adopted (as much as they could) the foreign religion and foreign ways. It was the formal and official language of the king's court, and the law courts administering Muhammadaṇ religious law, and nothing more, upto the second half of the 16th century, when at the instance of a Hindu, Tōḍar Mall, Akbar's finance minister, Persian was made the language of the revenue department in place of Hindi and other Indian languages which were till then in vogue. This event at once gave to Persian an importance in Indian life it never possessed before, as a great many Hindus seeking employment in Government offices began to learn Persian. The evolution of Persianised Hindi, i.e. Urdu, was made possible or was accelerated by this measure. The stream of Persian had hitherto flowed separately from that of the Indian languages. Here and there a few Persian words found entry in the North Indian literary languages, but no conscious, organised effort to Persianise the vocabulary of Indo-Aryan took place before the 18th and 19th centuries. Malik Muhammad Jāyasī (middle of the 16th century) wrote his *Padumāwati,* a work of Sūfī mysticism in the garb of a Rajput Hindu romance, in a language which is not at all to be differentiated from that of the works of Tulasī-dāsa composed in the same Awadhi dialect and within the same century, except, perhaps, in this that Jāyasī has a larger Prakritic element than Tulasī-dāsa who was a Sanskrit scholar which Jāyasī evidently was not. It was in the Deccan at the end of the 16th century that a Persianised diction grew up in Dakni Hindustani, when the Persian character came to be used for this Indian language. Still Deccan Hindustani for two centuries did not cut itself off from ordinary Hindu speech, and the vocabulary of king Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh, the poet-king of Golconda (d. 1611) and that of other Sūfī poets contemporaneous and posterior to him, had a good percentage of pure Hindi and Sanskrit words. The Persianising writers of Delhi, Lucknow and Hyderabad-Deccan

in the 18th and 19th centuries worked a revolution in the spirit of Urdu, which may be properly described as the Muhammadan form of Hindi.

There has been a steady infiltration of Perso-Arabic words in all the Indo-Aryan languages, and that took place most naturally. These words have now become a part of Indo-Aryan. But from the point of view of Indian nationalism, and the maintenance of the genius of the Indo-Aryan speech, reckless Persianisation or Arabicisation has got a good deal to be said against it. Surely, it would be something preposterous to propose that language or style like the following, which is only some couple of centuries old since its inception, and has no meaning for four-fifths of India,—

kabhī, ai muntaẓar-e-ḥaqīqat, naẓr ā libās-e-majāz-mē̃
('At times, O thou that art awaited for by the Reality, come to my sight in the garment of an allegory !'),

or —

tērē dīdār-kā muštāq hai nargis ba-cašm-e-wā,
tērī ta'rīf-mē̃ raṭbu-l-lisā̃ sōsan zabā̃ hō-kar —

('The narcissus with eyes that are open is desirous of thy sight : the *sōsan* flower has become a tongue fluent in speech in thy praise')—

as the goal to which Indo-Aryan has been moving for thirty centuries and more, with the depth and the vastness of Sanskrit behind it and on all sides of it. But I would not start a controversy with the protagonists of what these protagonists consider 'an Islamic diction': that question had better be reserved for another occasion.

The other foreign language which is *vis-à-vis* Indo-Aryan is English—with its unique position as the language of administration, language of education, language of all higher thought and science, and as a unique vehicle of world-culture. English is not so insistent for domination over Indo-Aryan, but it is

working silently and surely. This is too apparent a phenomenon to require any special exposition.

The Indo-Aryan speech after its long career is now, like the people who use it, faced by new situations and new problems. The future of the language will depend upon how its speakers are able to tackle these problems, and to tide over the present world of clash and conflict of ideals, creating a situation which will make its most natural course the inevitable one.

II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI, THE NEW INDO-ARYAN 'LINGUA FRANCA'

PRELIMINARY NOTE

In the following papers I use both the names *Hindi* and *Hindusthani* to mean in a general way the great Indo-Aryan Lingua Franca which may be described as 'the *kā-mẽ-par-sē, is-us-jis-kis* and *nā-tā-ā-gā* Speech' (taking into note its characteristic post-positions and inflexions for the Noun, the Pronoun and the Verb) and which forms the basis of the two cultured and literary languages, the Hindu *High-Hindi* (or *Nāgarī-Hindī)* and the Muhammadan *Urdū*. *Hindī* is the oldest and simplest of names for the current speech of Northern India (from the East of the Panjab to Bengal) after the Turki conquest in the 12th-13th centuries, and I use it in its old connotation which is still present among the masses. *Hindūstānī* is a much later, and a more cumbrous formation: as a pure Persian word, it has largely come to mean something synonymous with the Muhammadan form of the Hindi speech, namely, *Urdū,* with its superabundance of Persian and Perso-Arabic words to the restriction and exclusion of the native Hindi and Sanskrit elements. Some students of Indian Linguistics, and political and social workers of the Indian National Congress and other organisations, have sought to employ this Persian word *Hindūstānī* in a wider sense, to mean the basic speech underlying both *High-Hindi (Nāgarī-Hindī)* and *Urdū;* but in spite of their efforts, most Englishmen and other foreigners and a good many Indian Musalmans still continue to look upon the two terms *Hindustani* and *Urdu* to mean the same style of the Hindi language, written in the Persian script and preferring a Perso-Arabic vocabulary.

The Indian form of the word, *Hindusthānī* (with *sthān* from Sanskrit *sthāna* as the second element, rather than the Persian *(a)stān* < Old Persian *stāna)*, as things stand, indicates just the popular North Indian Lingua Franca, the Basic, Colloquial Speech, without any of its literary affiliations or associations with either High-Hindi or Urdu. *Hindūsthānī* or *Hindŭsthānī* (हिन्दूस्थानी, हिन्दुस्थानी, हिन्दूस्थानी) is current in Marathi, Gujarati and Bengali, and in the languages of the South, which do not know the form in *-t-* (except, of course, Tamil, which has no letters for the aspirates), and I have heard the pronunciation with *-th-* from Hindu people (and even uneducated Musalmans) in Bihar, in the U.P., in Central India Agency and in the Central Provinces, in Rajputana, and even from some Panjabi Hindus and Sikhs; although High-Hindi orthography in Dēva-nāgarī ordinarily empoys the Persian form with *-t-*. We have in India the name *Rājasthān* (whence *Rājasthānī,* to mean the dialects of Rajputana, in Indian Linguistics), adopted by Colonel James Tod in 1829 to indicate the tract of Rajputana; and the Indianised forms *Beloch(i)sthān, Āphagān(i)sthān, Turk (i)sthān, Sīsthān, Ārab(i)thān* etc. are also current. (There is no reason why we should not translate the new English name of Siam—*Thailand*—into *Thāi-sthān,* Thailand itself being an English rendering of the Thai or Siamese national name, *Muang Thai).* Where it is customary to use the term *Hindi* in a restricted sense to mean the literary language as used by the Hindus of Northern India written in the Dēva-nāgarī script and using a pure Hindi and Sanskritic vocabulary, I employ the Anglo-Indian term *High-Hindi* and an Indian or Hindi name *Nāgarī-Hindī* नागरी-हिन्दी (the word *Nāgarī* suggesting both its script and the fact of its being a 'cultivated'—a *nāgarika*—language: cf. in this connexion the name *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā* for what is virtually a *Hindī Sāhitya Pariṣad,* an 'Academy of Hindi Literature'). It is time we admitted in official and scientific literature the widely used Indianised forms *Hindusthan* and *Hindusthani* beside those ot foreign origin, *Hindustan* and *Hindustani.*

LECTURE I

HINDI, THE REPRESENTATIVE SPEECH OF MODERN INDIA.

Diversity of Language in India—this Diversity on the Surface only—the Great Literary Languages—Position of Hindi (Hindusthani) —Some Qualities of Hindi—A Simple Way to from Verbs from Nouns by Composition—Nett and Precise Character of the Hindi Sounds—Simplicity of Hindi (Hindusthani) Grammar—Still Greater Simplicity of 'Bazar Hindi'—'Bazar Hindi' the true Lingua Franca and National Speech of India—Simplified Hindi or Hindusthani as a Factor in Indian Life in North India—the National Movement in India and Hindi-Hindusthani—Mass Movement in Politics through the Indian National Congress and Hindusthani—the names *Hindusthani* and *Hindustani* Various froms of Hindi-Hindusthani—(1) Urdu : its Extent, and its Limitations—Romanised Urdu (Hindustani) in the Indian Army—Roman Urdu among North Indian Christians—Government Support of Urdu in the Radio and in the semi-official Talkies—(2) High-Hindi or 'Nagari-Hindi'—its Position—its Place in Hindu Life—the Deva-nagari Script and Sanskrit Words—Spread of High-Hindi by People not belonging to the Hindi or Hindusthani Area—'Khari Boli'—'Pari Boli'—'Theth Hindi'—(3) Hindi (or Hindusthani) as the Basic Dialect—the Ideal of a Common Platform for the Union of High-Hindi and Urdu —(4) 'Vernacular Hindustani'—Forms of *Patois* or Folk Dialect current in Western U. P. and Eastern Panjab, finding their literary Form in (1) and (2)—(5) 'Bazar Hindi' or 'Bazar Hindusthani', a Protean Speech, a Falling-off from the Standards presented by (1) and (2) and their Basis (3).

The multiplicity of languages and dialects is put forward as an argument against India being a nation. Linguisticians in their scientific zeal for all-inclusiveness have taken note of all the big and small languages and dialects of the country, from great literary languages current among tens of millions to obscure or unimportant dialects confined to only a few hundreds. The most detailed classification and enumeration of Indian languages as in the monumental 'Linguistic Survey of India' of Sir George Abraham Grierson gives 179 languages and 544 dia-

lects for India. But the Indian people themselves returned, during the Census of 1921, only 188 languages with 49 dialects (these figures are for both India proper and Burma, but Burma has now been separated from India). Taking the number of Indian languages, roughly, at 180, as a mean in round numbers between the Survey and the Census figures, and omitting the tale of dialects as unnecessary as they are included within languages, we may say that it exhausts all the different speeches of India which from point of view of scientific linguistics merit an independent status. But of these 180 languages, some 130 are speeches mainly belonging to the Sino-Tibetan, Mon-Khmer, Karen and Man groups or families, which are confined to either very small and backward primitive tribes in the North-Eeastern (India-Burma) frontier with no numerical, cultural or political importance, or are languages not belonging to India proper (e.g. Karen, Siamese, Burmese, Tibetan, Andamanese, Nicobarese,—and the Aryan Persian).

In a country like India, with vast plains making intercommunication easy among the different groups living in it, it is the great languages of civilisation and communication that matter. A little hill-tribe may have its own special dialect, but that is confined to its own narrow tribal life: for a broader, more cultured existence, an acquaintance with a great culture language which is current in or about its homeland is a necessity which is fully realised, and admitted in practice. Thus the Kurkus, a Kol tribe living in Western Central Provinces and Northern Berar, must know Hindusthani or Marathi, although there is population of over one lac and twenty thousand of them speaking their tribal language; the speakers of the Tibeto-Burman dialects in Assam and Bengal cannot get on without Bengali or Assamese, and Parbatiya (or Gorkhali) and Hindi (or Hindusthani) are similarly necessary for the Tibeto-Burman speakers of Nepal. The Todas of Ootacamund, numbering only 663 souls in the Census of 1921, are found to know other languages, Tamil and Kannada, besides their own. The Gonds number some thirteen lacs, but they are split up among speakers of 'Hindi', Marathi, Oriya and Telugu, and consequently must

know one or the other of these advanced languages. The Santals, the largest group in India speaking an aboriginal language, numbering over two millions and six hundred thousand, are mainly concentrated in Chota Nagpur, but they are also found in large numbers in Bengal, Orissa and Assam, and they have to adopt either forms of Bihari, or Hindusthani, Bengali or Oriya as their culture languages. Apart from these small tribal or aboriginal languages, there are other speeches, of the great Dravidian and Aryan families, which have no place outside of home life, their speakers having declared allegiance to one or other great tongues which are allied to their own.

Of the above languages, Hindi or Hindusthani has a predominance over the rest. In some respects Hindi is the most important language of India. Although the home language of a relatively small number—the native districts of Hindi or Hindusthani embrace only South-Eastern Panjab, Western United Provinces, North-Eastern Central Provinces, Northern Gwalior and a portion of Eastern Rajputana (and even here we have a good portion covered by dialects, Hindusthani being mostly confined to the cities)—Hindusthani in its two styles—High Hindi and Urdu—is the recognised language of practically the whole of Aryan India, excluding Bengal, Assam and Orissa, Nepal, Sindh, Gujarat and the Maratha country. Speakers of Gujarati and Marathi all easily read and understand High-Hindi or Nagari-Hindi, in addition to finding no difficulty with spoken Hindusthani; the people of Rajputana and Malwa have adopted High Hindi, although in former centuries a notable literature grew up in a literary form of Rajasthani known as Ḍiṅgal; barring a few Sikhs and others, most Panjabis employ Hindusthani (Nagari-Hindi or Urdu); the people of Eastern United Provinces and Bihar have similarly adopted Hindi or Hindusthani (Nagari-Hindi mostly) to the exclusion of their native tongues which differ considerably from Hindusthani and which are now confined only to the home (a movement however has started among the Maithil speakers of North Bihar who number over ten millions to have their mother-tongue recognised in the University of Patna—Calcutta University has already done it—in the

college and in the high school as the proper vernacular of the place.) The two millions of Assamese mostly understand Bengali, and so do most Oriyas (over eleven millions), although Assamese and Oriya have the status of independent languages. Most Gorkhali speakers similarly understand Hindusthani as a matter of course, and easily read and follow Nagari-Hindi.

Taking note of the great languages of literature and of general communication, the languages of India that really matter are ten; Hindusthani (with its two literary forms High-Hindi and Urdu); Bengali; Marathi; Gujarati; Oriya; Sindhi; Telugu; Kannada; Tamil; and Malayalam. Perhaps Sindhi might be omitted, as it is confined to only some 3½ millions who mostly know Hindusthani, like the speakers of Panjabi, Eastern and Western.

The situation for Hindusthani in other parts of Aryan India has been mentioned before; and in Bengal, Assam and Orissa, a simple form of colloquial Hindi (Hindusthani) is universally understood. Hindi or Hindusthani is thus a great language which is the recognised literary vehicle (in either of its two forms High-Hindi and Urdu) of over 150 millions of people (according to the 'Linguistic Survey of India' estimates based on census figures of 1891, we have to note the following figures:—Lahndi or Western Panjabi, 10 millions; Panjabi, or Eastern Panjabi, over 12½ millions; Rajasthani, over 16 millions; Western Hindi including Hindusthani proper, 38 millions; Pahari, over 2 millions; Eastern Hindi, 24½ millions; and Bihari, over 37 millions; this would give over 140 millions who openly or tacitly declared their allegiance to Hindusthani in 1891). And if we add to this number the speakers of other Aryan languages who understand and frequently use Hindusthani (though it is often Hindusthani of a sort), it will be no exaggeration to say that Hindusthani (in one or the other of its two forms) is the literary language of over 150 millions, and is in addition in its colloquial Hindi form the language most commonly understood by some 245 millions of people, in India and outside India (Bengali, over 53 millions; Oriya, 11 millions; Assamese nearly 2 millions; Gujarati, 9½ millions; Marathi, over 21 millions; we have be-

sides Sindhi, Kashmiri and other Aryan speeches of India, speakers of which would normally understand Hindusthani). Hindusthani is the most commonly understood Aryan speech in the Dravidian South, particularly in the towns and the great pilgrim centres; and there are colonies of Hindusthani speaking (or Nagari-Hindi and Urdu using) Indians in Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad, the West Indies, South and East Africa, Mauritius and Malaya and Indonesia.

From the point of view of numbers speaking, using and understanding it, Hindusthani is one of the great languages of the world, with the third, if not the second place (Chinese in its Northern dialect, and English,—these two only can be mentioned before Hindusthani; after these come, in numerical order, Russian, German, Spanish, Japanese and Bengali).

Hindi or Hindusthani is thus a very great heritage for Indians of to-day. It is a very important expression, as well as a natural symbol, of Indian unity and Indian nationality. Hindi (Hindusthani) is the Representative Language of India. Like its cousins and sisters Bengali, Marathi, Panjabi and the rest, it inherits the *Sprachgut*—the 'speech-commodity' of roots and words—of the Old Indo-Aryan speech (typified by Sanskrit) as one of its direct descendants. Like the other Indo-Aryan languages, it has approximated itself to the syntax and thought-processes of the non-Aryan speeches of the country—Dravidian and Kol (Munda), so that a Dravidian or Kol speaker may find Hindi or Hindusthani roots and words different from those of his own language, but the mental atmosphere as indicated by the order of words and idioms he does not find to be different; .it is a familiar habit of thinking which he gets in Hindi, not a quite different and foreign one as in English. Hindi (Hindusthani) again, is a great liaison language. Sanskrit (through origin and through acting as a feeder language to the High-Hindi form of Hindusthani), the Dravidian languages (through some fundamental points of agreement in the spirit of Morphology, in Syntax, and in Idiom), and Persian, or Arabico-Persian (through having influenced Hindusthani in vocabulary, and the Urdu form of Hindusthani particularly by

supplying its special script, its learned and culture words, its literary forms and ideals, and also some turns of expression)—all these find a common meeting ground in Hindusthani. In recent years, English also has come to influence Hindusthani. Like all great languages which have attained to an international position, e.g. English, having long transcended their provincial or restricted spheres, Hindusthani is now arriving at what may be called the encyclopædic stage, when it can absorb foreign words as necessity arises, and can absorb them in the raw, as it were; unlike poor, ultra-provincial languages, it is not affected by the vice of "don't-touch-ism" with regard to foreign words that are expressive and necessary. In its spirit Hindusthani may be described as one of the most liberal and reasonable languages—so far as enriching itself with foreign words is concerned.

Hindusthani can be terse, it can be elaborate. It is a vigorous manly speech: a *mardānī zabān,* or *purukh-kī bōlī,* a tongue fit for men, as it has been described by some of its speakers and admirers. One peculiarity which Hindusthani shares with other Indian languages (and also to some extent with its cousin Persian) has given it expressiveness with ease; viz., the use of a noun with an equivalent of the verb meaning 'to do' or 'to make' to form the verb from the noun: e.g., *biśwās karnā* 'to believe', lit., ' to do faith, to make faith'; *bicār karnā* 'to judge', *hukm* or *āgyā karnā,* 'to command'. This is a simple and easily understandable method which has much to recommend it; it does away with the need for a verb-forming affix which is but an unnecessary and inconvenient relic of the past (e.g., English *clean* > *cleanse* = Hindusthani *śuddh* or *sāf* > *śuddh karnā* or *sāf karnā,* lit. 'to make clean'; English *fool* > *befool* = *nirbōdh* or *bē-wukf banānā* 'to turn into a fool'; *black* > *blacken* =*kālā* > *kālā karnā; stable* > *stabilise* = *pakkā* or *mazbūt karnā;* etc.); and it does away also with the ambiguity which may result from using the noun itself as a verb (e.g. English *search* > *to search* = *khōj* > *khōj karnā; quarrel* > *to quarrel* = *jhagṛā* > *jhagṛā karnā; fight* > *to fight* = *laṛāī* > *laṛāī karnā,* beside *laṛnā*—etc.). This principle may be a little expansive or explanatory, but for this reason it has great clarity,

and it certainly conduces to much economy of effort in both learning, remembering and using words in different senses; and from these aspects, this Hindusthani or Indian principle has been adopted in the formation of Basic English, that recent attempt to simplify English and to make it easy for acquirement by foreigners.

Another great point about Hindi (Hindusthani) is the net and precise character of its sounds. The vowels are clear, and there are no elaborate laws for the change of vowel sounds which make, for instance, Kashmiri and Colloquial Bengali so difficult for foreigners; and the vowels are simple: e.g. Hindusthani has a short *ă* which is pronounced like the *u* in English *but*, a long *ā* like the *a* in English *father*, long and short *i* and *u*, long *ē* and *ō* (which may become short under certain conditions), and two 'diphthongs' *ai* and *au* approaching the Southern English vowel sounds in *lad* and *law* respectively. There are no rounded front vowels, like French *u* or German *ü*, and French *eu* and *œu* and German *ö*, no spread back vowels like the Japanese *u* or the Marathi short *ă*, and no central vowels, which are all so difficult for foreigners to acquire. Its consonants also are clear: an aspirated *gh, jh, ḍh, dh,* or *bh* is a precise sound, an *h* is an *h*, and that is that: they are always clear, and not weak, as in Standard Bengali; we do not have those bewildering modifications of the aspirates with accompanying tonal changes which characterise Panjabi, or of *h* which we notice in Gujarati and East Bengali giving rise to certain peculiar consonantal changes in those speeches. Its consonant sounds are characteristically Indian. The dentals and the retroflex or cerebral sounds are kept intact, as in most forms of Indian speech—and they do not tend to merge into a single alveolar set as in Assamese or in dialectal Gujarati. Certain necessary sounds which were absent in Hindi and other Indian speech were obtained by it through its long contact with Persian, viz. *z, š, ž, f,* and *χ* and *γ*; and Arabic is also familiarising Hindi with two other consonant sounds, that of *q* and that represented by the Arabic letter *'ayn*.

Then, again, the grammatical forms of Hindi are comparatively few. As it is, the essential points of Hindusthani grammar have been printed on one page of the 'Linguistic Survey of India', whereas those for Awadhi, Bengali and Marathi, and Tamil and Telugu, each take two pages, more or less closely printed: Eastern Panjabi requires three pages, and Maithili four pages. This is for Standard Literary Hindusthani, in both High-Hindi and Urdu forms—the correct, grammatical 'high' dialect, which is used only by its native speakers living in Western United Provinces and South-Eastern Panjab and by those who have learnt correct High-Hindi or Urdu at school. The common Hindusthani of the man in the street, particularly in the tracts surrounding what may be called the 'home districts' of Hindusthani,—the very living language of the masses who have had little or no schooling in the language, has a grammar which is shorter still: and the grammar of this Common or Colloquial Hindusthani, which without the implication of any disparagement may be described as 'Bazar Hindi or Bazar Hindusthani',—of this 'Basic' or 'Lingua Franca Hindusthani', so to say, which forms a living bond of union among 245 millions and more in India and abroad, can be written on a post-card.

This brings us naturally to the question of the various forms of Hindi or Hindusthani: the correct, grammatical forms used in literature, viz., High-Hindi, and Urdu; and the different forms of Colloquial Hindusthani—much more simplified in grammar—with are current from the Afghan Frontier to Burma and from the Himalayan slopes to the Deccan—from Karachi and Peshawar to Dibrugarh and Chittagong and from Srinagar and Badrinath to Haidarabad and Bangalore. In spite of many local diversities and deviations from the correct grammar of High-Hindi and Urdu, there is a common element, a fundamental basis, which makes this speech not a set of different dialects but essentially one language throughout this wide tract of country, the proper 'de facto' National Language of India, intelligible everywhere, in which the question of Hindu or Muhammadan does not enter.

It is time that we recognised this Simplified Form of Hindusthani, the language of the street and the market, the language flowing like a living stream, away from the High-Hindi and Urdu class rooms and scholarly literatures and grammars, and from formal gatherings as well as the homes of the *élite* few in Northern India and elsewhere who are born to the manner of correct Hindusthani and who imbibe the atmosphere of its fine culture (Urdu or High-Hindi) from their childhood: it is time that we formally and openly gave it its due—by recognising what is already a fact, namely, that the Simplified Hindusthani of the streets and the market place and of the places where the masses of the people gather is the true National Language of India; and this recognition can only be done by regulating it in its simplified form, and allowing its use as an optional or alternative form, side by side with High Hindi and High Urdu as they are in use among the educated with their more elaborate grammar.

I have tried above to indicate the position of Hindusthani in present-day India. We all know that in Northern India at least some knowledge of Hindi or Hindusthani, be it High-Hindi or Urdu or just 'Bazar Hindusthani,' is essential for a person who wants to enter into elementary communication with the people. A Gujarati person coming to Calcutta or Dacca finds his broken Hindusthani, coloured it may be his own Gujarati mother-tongue, to be the only medium to get in touch with people, in the railway or steamer, street or *bāzār*—leaving of course the educated classes who know and would prefer to speak English. More than twenty-five years ago, Mahatma Gandhi's Hindusthani or Hindi had a noteworthy colouring of his mother-tongue Gujarati when he was listened to in Calcutta by the present writer, and yet there was no difficulty with the slight knowledge of Hindi he then possessed in following him. A Bengali from Dacca similarly will travel easily all over Northern India right upto Peshawar with a smattering of this same Hindusthani which he may Bengalise to some extent. Thanks to the presence of this great *Verkehrssprache* or 'Com-

munication Speech', in Northern India (as contrasted with the Dravidian-speaking South) we do not feel the diversity of local language to be a problem in travelling and in forming ordinary contacts. We may find in the streets group of people gathered in a crowd talking among each other in their local speech, which we may not understand at all, but ten to one there would be some in it able to answer a question put in simple Hindusthani, and answer in an intelligible form of approximation to Hindusthani, whether in Comilla or Darjeeling, Noakhali or Barisal, Chaibassa or Poona, Puri or Peshawar, places which are avowedly outside the pale of Hindi or Hindusthani. The Englishman in India acquires a little 'Bazar Hindusthani' and this is enough to help him along in the towns and villages of North India, and in the bigger cities of the South also. I have been accosted in 'Hindustani' in the streets of London by a Malay sailor who would visit the Indian ports of Chittagong, Calcutta and Madras, and an English Tommy who served in India for three years staying at Mhow and Peshawar, Lahore and Calcutta; by a Scotch labour overseer in the town of Oban in the Highlands of Scotland who served on the railway in Haidarabad-Deccan; and by a Greek infantry-officer at Athens who had come out to India as a clerk in the Greek firm of Messrs. Ralli Brothers, to whose office he was attached at Rangoon and Calcutta. In the Indian convict settlement at Port Blair in the Andamans, the language that is becoming established among the settled population, including freed long-term convicts and others, from different parts of India, is Hindusthani. Wandering *sādhus* or mendicant monks from various parts of Northern India form themselves into bands, and they communicate with the people in the same Hindi or Hindusthani speech; so much so that in Bengal (and I understand in other parts of Aryan-speaking India also), *sādhu*-dom and Hindusthani or Hindi are thought to go together: the *sādhu* is urged by *Wanderlust* to leave home and rove about and visit strange lands and far-away shrines, and he is supposed to enter into the pan-Indian religious life of Hinduism; and both in a vague way are supposed to find in

Hindi or Hindusthani their fitting linguistic expression. With Bengali or Gujarati, Panjabi or Marathi alone, a man remains provincial and parochial; with Hindi or Hindusthani, he becomes pan-Indian: this also is the general feeling. Hindusthani thus appears to pervade the atmosphere of the Northern or Aryan world in India.

Hindi or Hindusthani has been there all along, but it required a good many decades before our political thinkers and workers discovered it, and realised its importance in the life of India. The English-educated Indian *intelligentsia* commenced to think of the regeneration of their country during the last quarter of the 19th century, and when the Indian National Congress was started in the eighties of the last century, ardent patriots from Bengal and Gujarat, Maharashtra and the Panjab, and Northern India and Madras Presidency, bent upon the regeneration and liberation of their country, deliberated on the ways and means for this supreme consummation in English. Some thirty-five years ago in 1905, when we were boys at school, a Panjabi nationalist preacher came to Calcutta from Dera Ismail Khan or some other frontier town, and his for the age rather outspoken and even violent anti-British speeches (all in English) created a certain amount of ardent patriotic fervour among the students; and we used to follow Mr. Tahilram Gangaram in the streets of Calcutta, singing in chorus a "National Song" *in English,* the opening lines of which were "God save our Ancient Hind, / Ancient Hind once glorious Hind, / From Kashmir to Cape Comorin /" etc. This was on the eve of the partition of Bengal, and the resultant flood-tide of the Swadeshi Movement which inspired and ushered in a new political era in India. The Swadeshi Movement came, and there was something of the *Sinn Fein* spirit in it: 'We ourselves.' Still at school, we would endeavour to speak pure Bengali unmixed with English: we wished to get rid of the 'weakness' common enough among "English-educated" Indians that we cannot avoid mixing our mother-tongue with words from the language of education and culture. The Nationalist

Movement starting from Bengal was Pan-Indian in its aspirations. All the naionalist writers of Bengal before the coming of the Swadeshi Movement who prepared the way for this movement for the emancipation of India, like Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Bhūdeva Mukherji and Swāmi Vivēkānanda, thought in terms of a United and Undivided India: but excepting Bhūdeva Mukherji, they did not pay much attention to the force that was behind Hindi.* With the commencement of the Swadeshi Movement, the neglected vernacular was taken up with enthusiasm—particularly in Bengal, where the language became the deathless symbol of the unity of a divided province. But Hindusthani had not yet come to its own. One of Bengal's political leaders, the journalist Kālī-Prasanna Kāvya-viśārad, however, realised the importance of Hindi, and he composed a popular nationalist song which Bengali young men used to sing in Calcutta and everywhere else in Bengal during the "Swadeshi" years of 1905-1912, which began like this,

bhaiyā, dēś-kā ī kyā hāl:
khāk miṭṭī jauhar hōtī sab, jauhar hai janjāl:
and ended
hō matimān dēś-kē santān, karō swadēś-hit.

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*Before 1892, over 50 years ago, Bhudeva Mukherji wrote : "Among the languages current among Indians, it is Hindi-Hindusthani which is the premier one, and thanks to the Musalmans it has spread over the entire continent [of India]. So it may be surmised that in some distant future time, the speeches of the whole of India will remain united by leaning on that only."

(भारतवासीर चलित भाषा-गुलिर मध्ये हिन्दी-हिन्दुस्थानी-इ प्रधान, एवं मुसल्मानदिगेर कल्याणे उहा समस्त-महादेश-व्यापक। अतएव अनुमान करा जाइते पारे जे, उहाके अवलम्बन करिया-इ कोनो दूरवर्ती भविष्य काले समस्त भारत-वर्षेर भाषा सम्मिलित थाकिबे।)

—*Acara-Prabandha*, 5th edition, Chinsura, Bengali Era 1328, p. 190. Elsewhere he has insisted on the importance of Sanskrit as a great unifier of modern Indian languages: ibid., p. 6.

One of the reasons why Hindusthani had not yet come to the forefront was that the Hindusthani-using peoples (in Bihar, in the United Provinces, in the Central Provinces and elsewhere) had not as yet become so very conscious politically, as, for instance, the people of Bengal proper, of Maharashtra and of the Panjab. It was the imagination and the practical sense of Mahatma Gandhi that saw in Hindi or Hindusthani the only instrument of raising the political consciousness of the masses in Northern India; with him Hindusthani was also a bond of union and also a symbol of the unity of the Indian peoples. The masses in Northern India wherever Hindusthani was understood responded with enthusiasm when the intellectuals abandoned their exclusiveness which the use of English signified so long in public and political life, and in this way by approaching the masses a far-reaching revolution, political, social, cultural and linguistic, was inaugurated.

Hindusthani is not the home language of all who speak or employ it. In its spoken forms, outside of the educated groups, it is a *patois* everywhere. The Persian name *Hindūstānī*, on which the Indianised form *Hindūsthānī* stands, is comparatively recent; it means '(Language) belonging to Hindustan'—*Hindūst(h)ān* in its narrow sense being the name established during Muhammadan rule for the North Indian plains between Panjab and Bengal. *Pūrab* or 'the East', meaning Eastern U.P. and Bihar—the Eastern Hindi and Bihari using tracts—is a part of this *Hindūst(h)ān*. In Bengal, a person not speaking Bengali, and belonging to Bihar or U.P., is a 'Hindusthānī', or a 'paścimā' i.e. a Westerner. But a Panjābī is distinguished from Hindūstānīs (or Hindūsthānīs), and also Mārwāṛīs, i.e. people from Rajputana. *Hindustan* has been used in contrast with the *Deccan (Dakhan, Dakan)* all through Muhammadan times. The city of *Sirhind* (Persian *Sar-i-Hind*, 'head of Hind' or 'India'), between Ludhiana and Ambala, is looked upon as the commencement of Hindustan as one comes from the West. According to the evidence of European travellers, the term *Hindustani (Indostani)* came to be employed for this speech

(in its colloquial form) from at least the beginning of the 17th century, when, in Northern India at least, if it were written at all, it used to be written in the *Banian* or *Baniā* (that is, the Dēva-nāgarī) character. Europeans who had to deal with Indians whether at Surat or in the North-Indian towns had to know this vulgar Hindustani language. For the benefit of his Dutch employers engaged in the Indian trade, J. J. Ketelaer wrote the first European Grammar of Hindustani in Dutch in 1715, which was published in a Latin translation from Leyden in Holland in 1743. (Cf. my article on Ketelaer's work—*Hindūstānī kā sab-sē Prācīn Vyākaraṇ*, in the 'Dvivēdī Abhinandan Granth', published by the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā* of Benares, Saṁvat 1990, pp. 194-203; also S. K. Chatterji, *The Oldest Grammar of Hindustani*, 'Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India', Lahore, 1935, Vol. V, pp. 363-384; and J. Ph. Vogel, *Joan Josua Ketelaer of Elbing, Author of the First Hindūstānī Grammar*, BSOS. 1936, Vol. VIII, pp. 817-822.) The name *Hindūstān* (with the adjective from it *Hindūstānī*), as has been said before, is a compound of Persian origin; the Modern Persian word *astān* or *istān*, from Old Persian *stāna*=Sanskrit *sthāna*, has been Indianised into *Hindusthān*: and among Hindus generally, this Indianised form gradually became current, so that ordinarily in Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati the form with the aspirate is the accepted one, Literary or High Hindi affecting the pure Persian form without the aspirate through its connexion with the Urdū form of the language, which of course will not tolerate the Indianised form. There is a subtle shade of difference between the words *Hindūstānī* and *Hindūsthānī*: the latter suggests to a Bengali, a Maratha and a Gujarati something which he would easily understand, something not so highly Persianised as Urdu. The Indianised form with *-th-* is freely heard among Hindus in Northern India, although High-Hindi (or Nagari-Hindi) does not usually spell the word with *-th-*; and *Hindūstānī*, the Persian form, is frequently enough looked upon as identical with Urdu, both among Indian Muhammadans and Englishmen and other foreigners.

We note the following forms of Hindusthani:

(1) The Urdu language: written in the Perso-Arabic character, which is the Arabic script (as expanded by the addition of four new letters) for the Persian language—with a further lot of three more letters for the specifically Indian sounds in Hindi (*ṭ, ḍ, ṛ*). It is the literary language of the Muhammadans of Northern India, from the Afghan frontier to Bengal. The Moslem upper classes in Eastern Panjab and Western U.P. and to some extent also in Haidarabad-Deccan speak it at home in its purest form. The city populations usually speak it, mixed more or less with the local *patois* according to education and social status of the speaker. In Eastern U.P. and Bihar, educated Moslems would speak it, or try to speak it, with grammatical correctness, but usually they employ a lax form of Urdu often grammatically wrong and mixed with Eastern Hindi and Bihari forms. In Panjab also according to education and social status there is greater or lesser mixture with Panjabi; but highly cultured Panjabi Musalmans do not disdain to use Panjabi amongst themeselves, and even there is some literary activity among Panjab Moslems in Panjabi written in the Persian character. With a growing spirit of self-consciousness, Urdu is spreading in its correct form among a good many North-Indian Moslems as their home-language too. Bengali Moslems as a rule do not adopt Urdu as the language of the home—they stick to their mother-tongue Bengali. In fact, Urdu until recently had made no impression on the life of Bengali Moslems of the higher classes. They used Persian in family correspondence, and never Urdu, if they did not employ Bengali.

This Urdu form of Hindusthani was not in existence as a literary language prior to the end of the 17th century. Its vocabulary has been highly Persianised, and in what is called "high-flown Urdu", a sentence may be made up of Persian and Arabic words entirely, with a native Indian—i.e. Hindi—particle or word thrown in here and there: so that it becomes unintelligible to Hindus who have not studied this form of the language specially, and to many Musalmans also who are not Persian and Arabic scholars. But its Perso-Arabic vocabu-

lary and its perso-Arabic script (the latter enables it to have Arabic words without any damage to their written form when they are introduced bodily into Urdu) are the great recommendations for Urdu among the Muhammadan peoples of India—and its literature which is almost entirely of Muhammadan inspiration is also a great recommendation. From this aspect, Urdu has become a great culture language for the Moslems of Bihar, Eastern U.P., the Panjab, Bengal, Assam, Orissa, the Maratha country, Gujarat and Sindh, and even among the Dravidian speaking Muhammadans of the South (witness, e.g. the description of Urdu as *Nabī-jī-kā Bhāṣā* or the 'Prophet's Speech,' ascribed to East Bengal Muhammadans). The two Universities of Bengal have given Urdu the status of Persian and Arabic as a classical language.

Some U.P. and East Panjab Hindus also speak a less Persianised Urdu at home,—and Urdu is also studied by a large number of Hindus, particularly in the Panjab and Western U.P., and in the Nizam's dominions. But these Hindus (whose connexion with Urdu was the natural result of their long touch with the Mogul court requiring some knowledge of or familiarity with Persian) are gradually taking to the cultivation of Hindi, except in the Nizam's dominions, where Urdu is maintained by the Muhammadan ruling house.

Urdu written in Roman characters has been adopted as the language next to English in the British Indian Army, and the Army Department has published books and tracts in Roman Urdu for the use of Hindustani-knowing Indian soldiers. The Royal Indian Artillery has as its motto *'Izzat-o-Iqbal* 'Honour and Fortune', which are just two Arabic words adopted by Urdu. Roman Urdu has also been used to some extent for Christian propaganda in North Indian towns. Tracts and books in it are not infrequently published from Lucknow and elsewhere. Urdu has been adopted as a sort of second official language by the British Government in India. When Queen Victoria wanted to learn an Indian language, she was taught Urdu in the Persian character. Eurasian and Anglo-Indian boys in 'European' schools in India were encouraged to learn Persianised Urdu when an In-

dian language had to be taught to them: now Nagari-Hindi is to some extent taking its place. The 'Hindustani' news broadcast by the official All-India Radio stations at Delhi and elsewhere is generally given out in highly Persianised literary Urdu, which of late has been using foreign Perso-Arabic words in preference to native Hindi or Hindusthani (e.g. *wazīr-e-'alā* for *pradhān-mantrī* ='prime minister', *jang* for *laṛāī*='war', *gandum* for *gēhū̃*='wheat,' *šīrīn* for *mīṭhā* ='sweet'), and scrupulously keeps to its Urdu character by avoiding all Sanskrit and a good many current Hindi words. The same may be said of the 'Hindustani' of certain War Effort Talkies made under Government inspiration. There is thus a certain amount of support of Persianised Urdu from the British Government in India, as it is looked upon as an inheritance from Muhammadan India. It is for this reason that the George IV, early Victoria, Edward VII, George V and George VI rupees and other silver coins have their denominations indicated only in Persian language and character *(yak rupīah, hašt ānah, cahār ānah* and *dō ānah),* as Persian was the official language of the Mogul empire to which the British theoretically succeeded. The Hindus also suspect that the present political bias of the British in India for the Muhammadans is also largely responsible for this.

(2) High-Hindi, or Nāgarī-Hindi. This has an identical grammar with Urdu, but it employs the Dēva-nāgarī or Nāgarī character, and it uses the native Hindi or Hindusthani (i.e. Prakrit) element to the fullest, and also a good many Perso-Arabic words which have become naturalised in the language; for words of higher culture it goes to Sanskrit. It has become the great. educational and cultural speech of North Indian Hindus (barring some in the Panjab and Western U. P. who have not been able to shake off the Urdu tradition as yet, in spite of a good deal of conscious effort to do so). It has become the language of public life and school education, of literature and journalism among Hindus generally in the whole of Bihar and U. P., in Central India, in "Hindi-speaking" Central Provinces, and in Rajputana. A North Indian Hindu who uses some Aryan language and is able to read Dēva-nāgarī would generally

understand it. Theoretically, it is the home-language of educated Hindus in Eastern Panjab and Western U. P., but in practice these Hindus speak a compromise between Hindi and Urdu,—with a large number of Sanskrit words, particularly those relating to Hindu religion and Hindu notions and things which no Muhammadan would have occasion or inclination to use. At the present day, many Hindus in U. P. (including Central and Eastern U. P.) are attempting to make it the language of the home also, from the language of social intercourse. Educated Hindus in Eastern U. P. and Bihar speak it mixed with Eastern Hindi and the Bihari dialects, outside the family circle: within the family they still adhere to the local dialects, Awadhi, Bagheli, Bhojpuriya, Magahi and Maithili, more or less affected by Hindi.

The great recommendation of High-Hindi (or Nāgarī-Hindi) for its Hindu supporters lies in its Dēva-nāgarī alphabet (which under British rule has become the accepted all-India script for Sanskrit) and its Sanskrit vocabulary: in other words, because it reflects in two vital matters—script and vocabulary—the Language of the Gods—the *Dēva-bhāṣā*—as we use it in India now. Given the native Indian Dēva-nāgarī script, Hindu leaders know that it would be easy to bring in the Sanskrit vocabulary and the Hindu or Indian atmosphere. Hence the important society or academy for Hindi letters founded at Benares and having branches everywhere in North India was called, not *Hindī Sāhitya Pariṣad* or 'Academy of Hindi Literature', but *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā* or 'Society for the Propagation of the Nāgarī Script'. It should be recalled in this connexion that a hundred years ago High-Hindi was known as *Nāgarī-Bhāṣā,* to mark it off from Urdu with its Persian script. I have seen High-Hindi tracts using almost entirely Sanskrit and Sanskritic vocabulary with very few Persian words lithoprinted in the Perso-Arabic character; there are Ārya Samāj publications giving the Vedic prayers e.g. the Gāyatrī and other Vedic *mantras* in the Perso-Arabic character for persons,—Hindu men and women—in the Panjab and Western U. P. who can read no other script and language except Urdu. For such people, the spread of Dēva-nāgarī and the spread of High-Hindi or San-

skritic Hindi mean practically the same thing, as the alphabet induces the vocabulary in language.

The greatest propagators of Hindi or Hindusthani have been, not those who may be called its own people, who alone possess it as their birth-right, viz. the people of the tracts employing dialects of the Western Hindi group of which Hindusthani is an important member (i.e. people of Western U. P., Western Central India Agency, the contiguous parts of Rajputana and C.P., and Eastern Panjab—collectively known as *Pach hā* or 'the West,' as opposed to the *Pūrab* or the Eastern part of Hindustan), but rather Eastern U. P. and Bihar people, and Rajasthanis (Mārwāṛīs). They found in High-Hindi a culture language suitable to their Hindu predilections, and although usually speaking it themselves in corrupt forms, consciously and unconsciously they have spread it and worked for its cause far and wide. The more a strong Hindu middle class is developing in the U. P. and Bihar, the better it will be for the maintenance and expansion of High-Hindi or Nāgarī-Hindī; and the masses are to a man in favour of it. High-Hindi or Standard *(Khaṛī-Bōlī)* Hindi began as a language of prose about the same time as Urdu (beginning of the 19th century, at Calcutta, under English auspices), and the earlier use of pure *Khaṛī-Bōlī* or Standard Hindi for poetry of Hindu inspiration is rare—the language is mixed with dialects. The same is largely true of Urdu also. The striving for a Standard Hindi or High-Hindi for literature, apart from the dialects like Braj-bhākā and Awadhī, is more ancient than in the case of Urdu, going back as it does to the 15th century, in the poems of Kabīr, for instance. The name Hindi (earlier *Hindwī)* as a language is older than Hindustani and Urdu, and Kabīr's language in the bulk of his compositions is Hindi rather than Urdu.

Sanskritised High-Hindi and Perso-Arabic Urdu have an almost identical grammar for their native (i.e. non-Sanskrit and non-foreign) element. This grammar, roughly, is of the spoken language of the upper classes in Delhi. This common grammar and common elements of roots, affixes and words supply the bases on which the separate structures of Urdu and High-Hindi

have been built up. This common or basic element has been called *Khaṛī* (or *Khaḍī*) *Bōlī* or 'Standing Speech': all other forms of North Indian speech which do not show this grammar of Hindi-Urdu-Khaḍī are known as *Paṛī* (or *Paḍī*) *Bōlī* or 'Fallen Speech'. Of course, owing to the force of circumstances, pure *Khaṛī Bōlī* is not used in daily life —it cannot be so used, as a matter of fact; for being composed entirely of elements inherited from Prakrit, it cannot express complex ideas of higher culture, for which New Indo-Aryan formed the habit of going to Sanskrit (and later on Urdu sought to exploit the vocabularies of Persian and Arabic). Pure *Khaṛī Bōlī,* unmixed with Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic, is called *Ṭhēṭh* (i.e. 'pure') Hindi. Books —prose tales—have been writen in this *Ṭhēṭh Hindī,* but these remain as literary curiosities only.

(3) Hindusthani (Hindustani) proper. This may be said to be the *Khaṛī Bōlī* maintaining in its vocabulary a balance between (1) Urdu and (2) High-Hindi. It has a fairly large Perso-Arabic element, and it uses Sanskrit words: one can say, it is just Hindi not highly Sanskritised—Hindi as used in daily life. It leans towards the *Ṭhēṭh* side, but being the language of practical use, it cannot eschew foreign words, nor can it do without Sanskrit words. Now it really remains in the ideal plane—the base for a compromise between Urdu and High-Hindi. But these two languages have already chosen their paths, in the matter of choice of culture-words, and unless either commits suicide, the other style cannot reign supreme. Hindus and Muhammadans of Western U.P. speaking to each other would try to maintain a balance, but the Muhammadans normally would not care to use Sanskrit words, so that in practice it remains a victory for Urdu when a Moslem speaks or is spoken to. Some members of the Indian National Congress are trying to make this Ideal of a *Khaṛī-Bōlī* Hindustani (or Hindusthani) into a reality and are using Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit words side by side indiscriminately—generally with a leaning towards Arabic and Persian, lest Moslem sentiments are hurt: and extreme Musalman sentiments will not tolerate Sanskrit to the exclusion of Persian and Arabic, and as a sop to this mentality

large concessions are sought to be made by Congress Hindus in favour of the Arabic and Persian elements in the 'National Language'. The name *Vidyā-mandir* as used recently for a scheme of popular education evolved by nationalistic India is a case in point. It is Sanskrit, and the words *vidyā* and *mandir* would not be too foreign even to a Delhi Musalman, yet this Sanskrit compound is unacceptable to a number of Moslems, and the Arabic equivalent *Baitu-l-'ilm* alone would satisfy this extreme Moslem sentiment. The solution suggested—*Paṛhāī-ghar*, a pure Hindi or Hindusthani compound—would not carry us very far, for the idea connoted by it is far too elementary. The Congress spirit of compromise is being followed by some of the talkie producers, particularly in Bombay: the juxtaposition of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit which we see in Hindu social and even religious films is in my opinion highly unesthetic, frequently ludicrous, and at times really tragic in the utter failure of a good intention of patching up an artificial compromise.

(4) "Vernacular Hindustani"—these are regional dialects of the Western U.P. and Eastern Panjab (current in the Rohilkhand and Meerut Divisions of the U.P. and in the Amabala district of E. Panjab), with the related Bāṅgarū dialect (current in Karnal and part of Rohtak districts, and in part of Jind state, with most of the Delhi tract to the west of the Jamna); they supplied the bases on which the grammar of *Khaṛī-Bōlī*—of Hindusthani, of High-Hindi, and of Urdu, so to say—developed, in the Delhi court and city. These are forms of *patois* current among the masses in the tracts mentioned above, who easily and most naturally pass on to High-Hindi or Urdu as they ascend the scale of culture and education. Non-Hindi speakers do not have any use for these folk dialects, just as they do not have any use for the other North Indian dialects. High-Hindi-Urdu *(Khaṛī-Bōlī)* may be described as a refinement or standardisation of the grammar of "Vernacular Hindustani."

(5) 'Bāzār Hindī' or 'Bāzār Hindustānī,' or Hindusthānī of the masses; this is just a simplified form of (1) and (2). Some High-Hindi writers preferred to call it *Laghu Hindī*. This does not present one form, but is a Protean speech, differing

more or less from *Khaṛī-Bōlī* grammar in the different tracts of Northern (Aryan) India. It is a debasement of Hindi-Urdu (*Khaṛī Bōlī*). It has reduced the grammar in some essential matters, and in vocabulary, idiom and grammatical forms it is frankly modified by the local forms of *patois* or local languages. The Panjabis, the Eastern Hindi, Bhōjpuriyā, Maithilī, and Magahī speaking peoples, the Bengalis using Hindusthani, Gujaratis, Marathas, and all foreigners like Chinamen, Englishmen, Pathans, Persians, Arabs, all employ varieties of this, if they have not acquired correct grammatical Hindi or Urdu by special study. It is this 'Bāzār Hindustani' or *Laghu Hindī* that is the great *Verkehrssprache* and *Umgangssprache* of India —not the grammatical Hindi and Urdu which have attained the status of a *Kultursprache* for North Indian Hindus and Moslems. The character of this has been sought to be indicated before.

So by Hindi, Hindusthani (Hindustani), and Urdu these are the various types of speech, all of them being forms of one common language, which are meant. All these varieties possess some fundamental grammatical devices (post-positions and inflexions) in common, which alone give them their Hindi or Hindusthani character or peculiarity. These are—the post-positions *-kā* (when the governed noun is in the feminine, it is *-kī*) for the genitive, *-sē* for the ablative and instrumental, and *-mẽ* and *-par* for the locative; the oblique pronominal forms *is, us, jis, kis*; the verbal affixes *-nā* for the infinitive, *-tā* for the present participle and the present tense, *-ā* for the past participle and the past tense, and *-gā* for the future tense (with certain modifications), among other things. Taking these into note, Hindusthani may be popularly described as 'the *kā-mẽ-par-sē, is-us-jis-kis* and *nā-tā-ā-gā* Speech': the above post-positions and inflexions mark off Hindusthani in all its varieties from the various forms of local *patois* or dialect in North India which have accepted its tutelege outside of the limited circle of domestic or communal life.

We shall see in the next lecture what historical back-ground this most interesting speech of Modern India has behind it.

LECTURE II

The Evolution of Hindi (Hindusthani) (I)

The Position of Hindusthani at the Present Day is the Result of Political and Cultural History in the Past—Aryan Advent into India—Fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan Elements in Race and Culture—the Ancient Hindu People and Hindu Culture—the Language of the Vedic Hymns a *Kunstsprache* i. e. Artistic or Literary Speech based on the Spoken Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic) Dialects—Vedic as the First Common Speech cf Indian Aryandom—the Language of the Brāhmaṇas—Deviation of the Popular, Spoken Dialects from the Vedic or Old Indo-Aryan Standard ushering the Middle Indo-Aryan Stage—Gradual Development of Classical Sanskrit as a Cultured and Literary Speech employed by the Brahmans in their Schools—Pāṇini—Rise of Classical Sanskrit in *Udicya* or the North-West and *Madhya-desa* or the Midland, corresponding roughly to the Area where Hindusthani developed—Spread of Sanskrit—Character of Sanskrit – the Dialect of the East set up as Literary Language by the Buddhists and the Jainas – Translation of the Buddhist Canon into different Languages—Ardha-magadhi—the Origin of Pali—Pali a Midland Speech—East vs. West in the History of Language Currents in India – Predominance of the West and the Midland as seen in the Sequence of Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Pali, Sauraseni Prakrit, Later Sauraseni miscalled Maharastri, Western Apabhramsa, Braj-bhakha and Hindi (Hindusthani)—the Sauraseni or Western Apabhramsa as a great Literary Speech – Sauraseni Apabhramsa approximating Hindusthani—the Beginnings of Hindusthani as a Modern Language—the Turki Conquest in the 10th-13th Centuries – Indianisation of the Foreign Elements—Birth of a *Verkehrssprache* at Delhi on the Basis of the Current Dialects of the Panjab and the Midland – Early Hindi or Hindusthani and its Sisters and Cousins – *Pachanha* or Western Hindi Dialects and their Connexion with Hindusthani – the -au (or -o) Dialects and the -ā Dialects—Other Points of Difference and Agreement—Panjabi Influence on Hindusthani – the Delhi Speech – Hindusthani at first neglected – the Early Importance of Braj-bhakha.

Seven centuries were taken in the evolution of Hindusthani: roughly, from 1100 to 1800. And the position which Hindusthani has now acquired among Indian languages is not accidental, but is the result of a long period of political history and cultural movement in both Northern India and the Deccan.

The Aryans came into India we do not know exactly when. Various approximate dates have been suggested. A favourite date is 2,000 B.C. The present writer believes that the Aryan advent into India cannot be antedated to a period before 1500 B.C.; it may be even later by a few centuries. The Aryans, a semi-nomad people, came to India from their problematic home, somewhere in the plains of Eurasia (in Russia) by way probably of the Caucasus Mountains, Northern Mesopotamia and Iran. They had sojourned in Northern Mesopotamia and Iran for some centuries before they came into India. In these tracts they appear to have absorbed a good deal of the culture of the Assyrio-Babylonians and other civilised peoples; and it is also likely that intermixture with certain local racial elements also helped to modify the Aryan people. When they came into India, the country was not uninhabited. On the other hand, there appears to have been, if not a teeming population, at least a numerous people, representing diverse races, cultures and languages, who in all likelihood did not have any unity or cohesion, although there might have occurred important mixed or hyphenated groups as the result of racial and cultural fusion. These races, cultures and languages, so far as the tracts of Northern and Western India were concerned, belonged to the Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic families, with the possibility of other racial and cultural elements being present or having already contributed in the formation of these pre-Aryan peoples, like Negrito and Ural-Altaic. Some of the pre-Aryan peoples were already in a very high stage of civilisation, which on the material side was considerably in advance of that of the Aryans: the remains of the ancient towns in Southern Panjab and Sindh are a sufficient indication of that. Others were peaceful village communities, with a primitive culture based on agriculture, which is the basis of the Indian village culture of to-day.

The Aryans came to India with their Aryan speech of which the oldest record we find in the Rigveda. There were both hostile conflict and peaceful contact between the Aryan newcomers and the non-Aryan peoples of the land. Out of a peaceful contact came a commingling of peoples and a fusion of cultures and religions, of ideas and languages; and in this way the foundations of the Hindu people of history were laid before 1000 B.C. The legends and tales of the non-Aryan world got inextricably mixed with those of the Aryans, and in this way the ancient Indian epic and Purāṇa literatures had their nucleus. The mixed people which was born of this union of Aryan and non-Aryan received it all as a single heritage; in the formative centuries it was all synthesis, rather than analysis, in the cultural domain.

The Aryans were at first settled in the North-West—in the Panjab, and thence they spread down-country in the East. Their language was established in their Panjab *nidus*, and it spread with them eastwards. Unquestionably it was the want of cohesion and the multiplicity of speeches among the non-Aryans, and the political power of the Aryan conquerors, the enterprise and drive of the Aryan settlers and the high intellectual gifts of their thought-leaders, which were responsible for the gradual prevalence of the Aryan tongue over the whole of Northern India.

The Aryan language superseded the non-Aryan speeches: by about 600 B.C., it seems to have reigned supreme from the Afghan frontier to Bengal. At first, out of the various Aryan dialects grew up a literary speech—a *Kunstsprache* or language for artistic purposes—in which their poets composed hymns about their Gods, which were collected and written down in the Vedas about or a little after 1000 B.C., when, it would appear, a system of writing—one based on the pre-Aryan writing found in the seals and other epigraphs discovered in the ancient city-ruins in Southern Panjab (Harappa) and Sindh (Mohen-jo-Daro, etc.), which was a sort of *proto-Brāhmī*—was first applied to the Aryan tongue in India. The Vedic literary speech had its beginnings in the verse or poetic dialect evolved among

the Aryans even while they were outside India. It seems to have served its purpose as the common or binding dialect among the various Aryan tribes settled in North-Western India during the earlier centuries of their advent and expansion in India.

The spoken dialects of the Aryans had their own way, while the Vedic literary or poetic dialect, fixed for ever when the hymns were put down in writing, continued to be studied in the Aryans priests' schools. A literature of philosophy and religious and ritualistic comments surrounding the Vedic sacrifices and the Vedic texts grew up between 1000 and 600 B.C., and its language was a younger form of Vedic, which we know as the Sanskrit of the Brāhmaṇas. The Brahman scholars who were now spread over the whole of Northern India, from Western Panjab to Eastern Bihar, gradually built up this literature. When it was noticed that the spoken dialects were becoming alarmingly removed from the Old Indo-Aryan standard as presented by the Vedic speech, the language of the *Chandas* or verse literature,—when in fact it appeared to the scholars to be degenerating itself,—as a result of both natural internal change through the passage of time and the spread of the Aryan tongue among linguistically alien non-Aryan tribes, the Brahman scholars set about building up a literary language which would remain steady and would not be an aberrated form like the spoken vernaculars. The chief or important centres of Brahmanical learning down to the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. were in the Panjab and the 'Midland', that is to say the area corresponding to the Upper Ganges Doab and South-Eastern Panjab. There the Aryan spoken dialects were not so debased as those of the East, which was farthest removed from the original Aryan home-land in India: in fact, there—particularly in the *Udīcya* or North-West—it was admitted that the Aryan tongue was spoken at its best. These Brahman scholars had a very good model for a literary language in front of them: the poetic speech of the Vedas, and the younger languages of the prose Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads. On the basis of this, simplifying it slightly to agree with the verna-

cular conditions of the time, a literary language was built up which became one of the greatest languages of human civilisation and thought: the Sanskrit, or Classical Sanskrit language. Its grammar was fixed practically for all time by Pāṇini, who was an inhabitant of North-Western Panjab and who lived probably in the 5th century B.C. The beginnings of Classical Sanskrit, however, are a century or two earlier than Pāṇini; in fact, one may say that Classical Sanskrit arose imperceptibly out of the younger post-Vedic prose-speech—the language of the Brāhmaṇas. One may regard the Vedic and Brahmanic dialects as archaic forms of Classical Sanskrit; and it will be perfectly proper to lump together Vedic and Classical Sanskrit as one language.

Classical Sanskrit became the accepted language of the Brahmans,—of the *śiṣṭa* or cultured section among them, who followed the ideal of plain living high thinking in their lives (according to the description of Patañjali in the 2nd century B.C.). It was established as the sacred and literary language of ancient India, the Buddhists and Jainas later paying their homage to it same as the Brahmans. Classical Sanskrit took its rise practically in the same tract where Hindusthani later had its birth—namely, the Panjab, and Western United Provinces of the present day. Sanskrit spread with the spread of Hindu culture—taking 'Hindu' in the sense of 'Ancient Indian' to include the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina sects and schools of thought: it found its way West and North, into Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, into Tibet and China, and even into distant Korea and Japan, in the wake of Buddhism; and Brahmanism and Buddhism both carried it to Ceylon, to Burma and Indo-China (Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-China and Annam) and to Malaya and the islands of Indonesia (Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok, Borneo etc.). We might say that Sanskrit was, as the Vehicle of the culture and mentality of Ancient India,—a kind of ancient Hindusthāni, which was also the language of prayer and religious ritual.

Sanskrit was not exactly the home language of any part of the country:—only in the centuries B.C. the dialects of the

Panjab and the 'Midland' (i.e. Western United Provinces of the present day) appear to have given to Sanskrit its basic form. But it was a very living language nevertheless, being everywhere used, in howsoever a modified form, not only by scholars and religious men, but also by the travelled laity who were not mere rustics. The spoken dialects of the rest of Aryan India differed considerably, and they continued their line of development almost unimpeded. Already, by the time of Buddha, the dialect of the East had become very much differentiated from the earlier Vedic norm which was upheld in Sanskrit, and this Eastern dialect had come to be regarded as a distinct language. The philosophical movements started or continued by thinkers like Buddha and Mahāvīra were against the sacrifices and ritualism of Vedic Brahmanism, and these movements deliberately eschewed the archaic speech affected by the Brahmans, viz. Vedic as in the hymns (*chāndasa* 'the verse language'), and Sanskrit. They took up the vernacular : and as a result, an Eastern form of Middle Indo-Aryan, which was current in the tracts corresponding to Eastern United Provinces and Bihar (Oudh, Benares, Gorakhpur, North Bihar and South Bihar) came to acquire a literary dignity when the teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra were both delivered and written down in it. This Eastern dialect was also the official language of Emperor Aśōka, besides being the original language of both Buddhism and Jainism. This is the most recent view about the pre-canonical, i.e. pre-Pali and pre-Gāthā language of Buddhism. Scholars of the eminence of the late Sylvain Lévi of Paris and Professor Heinrich Lüders of Berlin have given ample indications and evidence of the fact that the discourses of Buddha were first composed in the Eastern Dialect, and then these were translated into Pali, which was a literary language based on the old language of the Midland. The Jainas later modified and altered this ancient Eastern speech, but on the whole they stuck to it, and in their sacred scriptures it is known as *Ardha-māgadhī*. Ardha-māgadhī has preserved its eastern character very well, but it represents a later stage of the linguistic development : Mahāvīra and Buddha belonged to the Old or Early

MIA. stage, but the Jaina Digambara canon in Ardha-māgadhī represents the Second MIA. or 'Prakrit' stage. The Buddhists translated the teachings of their master into other dialects, agreeably to the wishes of Buddha himself that his discourses are to be made approachable by men and women in their native languages. In this way, versions of the Buddhist scriptures were made in a number of Ancient Indian Aryan dialects (possibly also in the Old Dravidian speeches), and in extra-Indian languages like Sogdian, Old Khotanese, Old Kuchean and Old Karashahrian (Tokharian), Old Turki, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Tibetan, Mongol, Manchu, Burmese, Siamese, Annamese, Mon, and Khmer, and the Indo-Aryan Sinhalese, etc.

One of the ancient Indian Aryan dialects in which the Buddhist scriptures were translated from the original Eastern speech of Buddha was Pali. This Pali is wrongly believed to be the ancient language of Magadha or South Bihar; rather, it is a literary language based on the dialects of the Midland extending from Ujjain to Mathurā—in fact, it was a sort of ancestor of Western Hindi. Pali, as the language of the Midland, was like Hindi or Hindusthani of the present day, the speech of the centre—of the heart of Āryāvarta or Aryan-land—which was easy for people of the surrounding East, West and North-west, and South and South-west to understand. The Pali version (and later on the Sanskrit version which came into being) of the Buddhist canon superseded the original canon in the Eastern speech. Pali became the great literary language of the *Thēravāda* school of Buddhism, which was taken to Ceylon and was established there; and from Ceylon, this school passed on to Burma and Siam, taking its vehicle the Pali language with it and establishing it as the sacred language of Buddhism in present-day Indo-China. We have thus, after a period of superiority maintained by the Eastern Speech, in the lands first of the primitive Buddhists and Jainas and then of the Maurya ruling classes with Pāṭaliputra or Patna as their centre or homeland, the rise of the Pali language, which originated in the Western Hindi area.

In the linguistic history of North India, generally it has been the language of the West and the Middle Country which

prevailed over the rest. Vedic and Sanskrit both belong to the West rather than to the East. Pali is proved to be a Midland speech, and Midland vernacular influences had penetrated as far as Orissa in the 2nd century B. C. The Khāravēla inscription is written in a dialect which resembles both Pali and the supposititious *Old Śaurasēnī.* There have been, however, one or two occasions when the speech of the East was the dominant language. This happened once, it would appear, during the rule of the Mauryas. The Asokan court language was an eastern speech, and it was evidently this language which was understood and used all over Aryan India under the Mauryas. In Asoka's inscriptions, the Midland dialect is not represented, although we have the North-Western Prakrit at Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi, the South-Western at Girnar and the Eastern one elsewhere, which last we find to be current with some modifications at Kalsi in the sub-Himalayan tract. It is believed that the drafts of the Asoka inscriptions were prepared in the (Eastern) court dialect at the capital city Pāṭaliputra and then sent out to be carved on rocks and pillars at different places. In some of the local areas, as in Saurashtra (Gujarat) and Gandhara (North-West Panjab), the Pāṭaliputra original was translated into the local dialects, but the original draft in the Pāṭaliputra Court speech, as the American scholar Truman Michelson has made it clear, had some influence on the local dialects in official compositions like the Edicts. That the Midland dialect was not represented in the Aśoka inscriptions probably shows that speakers of it could understand easily the official Eastern dialect. Aśōka knew his Buddhist scriptures in the Eastern version, as the Bairat inscription shows. But this prestige of the Eastern speech was short-lived. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Central or Midland speech came to the fore-front once again.

In the subsequent history of the Aryan spoken dialects and the literary languages which grew out of them, the Midland and the West and North-West have a predominant position. Śaurasēnī Prakrit, with Mathurā as its centre, is looked upon as the most elegant of Prakrit or later Middle Indo-Aryan

speeches; and Śaurasēnī is but an ancient form of Braj-bhākhā, the present-day language of Mathurā, a sister and a former rival of Hindusthani. All cultured classes when not habitually speaking Sanskrit are made to speak Śaurasēnī in the Sanskrit drama. Side by side with Śaurasēnī, another Prakrit appears to have had some predominance. This is Mahārāṣṭrī, regarded as the dialect current in the Mahārāṣṭra tract, which ultimately became Marathi. But it has been suggested against this current view, that Mahārāṣṭrī was not connected with the Maratha country or with Marathi, but it was just the speech of the Midland, one stage younger than Śaurasēnī (cf. "Mahārāṣṭrī, a later phase of Śaurasēnī," by Manomohan Ghosh, work referred to at p. 86 ante). This statement appears revolutionary; but it would seem that Vararuci, the Prakrit grammarian, c. 400 A. D., described only the speech called *Prākṛta* (in the narrow sense of the term–'the vernacular' *par excellence)* which was his Śaurasēnī, and this speech was in Vararuci's time already in the Second MIA. stage when internal consonants were dropped; then some later hand added to Vararuci's *Prākṛta-Prakāśa* a spurious chapter on Śaurasēnī, purporting to give the characteristics of this dialect as belonging to an earlier phase, at par with Māgadhī. This view deserves full consideration. If it is correct, then we would have the so-called *Mahārāṣṭrī* Prakrit as an intermediate stage between *Śaurasēnī* Prakrit and *Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa*;–and this would establish a continuity of the importance of the Midland speech throughout the first millennium A.D., and even before–as Pali (centuries B.C.), Śaurasēnī Prakrit (early centuries of the Christian era), '*Prākṛta*' in the narrow sense, the so-called *Mahārāṣṭrī* Prakrit (c. 400 A.D.), and Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa (the rest of this millennium). The Midland formed the heart and hub of India; the dwellers there held the strings of Indian Brahmanical culture, as it were, and the prestige of the Midland as the sacred land *par excellence* of Hindudom was admitted everywhere. Paramount empires both in tradition and history had their centre in the Midland or contiguous tracts in Āryāvarta. The Midland people, too, prided upon their urbanity and their

pre-eminence in culture: witness, for instance, the *Ślōka* in the *Manu-saṁhitā* (? 1st–3rd cen. A.C.): *ētad-dēśa-prasūtasya sakāśād agra-janmanaḥ | svaṁ svaṁ caritraṁ śikṣēran pṛthivyāṁ sarvamānavāḥ* 'from first-born ones i.e. Brahmans of this land, let all men in the world learn their own ways of life'; witness also the line of the anonymous Sanskrit verse quoted, with approval, by Rāja-śēkhara (c. 900 A.D.) in his *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*—*yō madhyē madhya-dēśaṁ nivasati, sa kaviḥ sarva-bhāṣā-niṣannaḥ* 'he who lives in the heart of the Midland is a poet, established in all the speeches.'

Next, after Śaurasēnī (including the so-called Mahārāṣṭrī), comes Western Apabhraṁśa, a great literary language used in the courts of the Rajput princes of Northern India for some centuries immediately before the Turki conquest of North India, which was in general employment from Maharashtra to Bengal: verses composed by Bengal poets and poets from practically the whole of Northern India in this speech have been discovered. Western Apabhraṁśa therefore is the immediate predecessor, and partly the ancestor, of Braj-bhākhā and Hindusthani.

The Turk came, and established himself as master of the Panjab in the 11th century, when it became a part of the territory of Ghazna, after the sensational raids of Mahmud of Ghazna into the interior of India in the last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century. In the 10th-12th centuries, the Western Apabhraṁśa speech was in full vigour, and was the common language of literature (apart from Sanskrit and the Prakrits), and undoubtedly also of general communication. From some of the specimens of Western Apabhraṁśa popular literature, which have been preserved, for instance, in the Prakrit grammar of the great Jaina scholar Hēma-candra who lived in Gujarat during 1088-1172, it would be clear to what extent the language of the times was approaching Hindusthani. To give a few examples (with Modern Hindusthani equivalents and English renderings):

(1) *bhallā huā ju māriā, bahiṇi, mahārā kantu:*
lajjejjaṁ tu vaassiahu, jaï bhaggā gharu entu.

[= *bhalā huā, bahan, jō mērā kant (=pyārā, swāmī, šauhar) mārā: jō bhāgā ātā, tō vayasyā͂ō (=ham-'umr sahēliyō͂) mē͂ (mujhē) lāj ātī*].

(A Rajput woman says :)

'It was well, O Sister, that my beloved was killed :

if he came home defeated (or fleeing), among friends I would feel shame'.

(2) *jīviu kāsu na ballahaü, dhaṇu puṇu kāsu na iṭṭhu?*
doṇṇi vi avasari nivaḍiaï, tiṇa-sawā gaṇaï visiṭṭhu.

[= *jīw kis-kā bālam (=pyārā) nahī͂? dhan phin kis-kā īṭh (=iṣṭa, man-māṅgā) nahī͂? dōnō͂ hī ausar nibaṛē sē (=jab in dōnō͂ kē mauqē ā paṛē͂), biśiṣṭ (=šarīf ādmī) in dōnō͂ kō tinkā-sā ginē*].

'To whom is not life beloved? To whom, again, is not wealth a desired thing? When the two occasions arise (lit. are fulfilled), the superior man considers these two as straw.'

(3) *jaï ṇa su āvaï, dūi! gharu, kā ahō-muhu tujjhu?*
vaaṇu ju khaṇḍaï, taü, sahiē, so piu hōi ṇa mujjhu.

[*jō sō (=wah) ghar na āwē, dūtī! kyō͂ tujh (=tērā) mū͂h nīcā (hō)? bain (=bacan) jō khaṇḍē tō, sahī! sō (=wah) mujh (=mērā) piū (=pyārā) na hōwē*].

'O messenger! if he does not come, why art thou downcast (lit. art with thy face cast down)? If he breaks (his) word, then, O friend! he cannot be my beloved.'

(4) *amhē thōvā, riu bahuā—kāara ewā͂ bhaṇanti:*
muddhi, nihālahi gaaṇa-alu; kaï jaṇa joṇha karanti?

[=*ham thōṛē, ripu (=dušman) bahut—kāyar (=kāpuruṣ, nā-mard lōg) yō͂ (=aisā) bhanē͂ (=kahtē haī); hē mugdhē (=ay mūrakh 'aurat)! gagan-tal (=āsmān par) nihār (=dēkh): kai jan (=kitnē ādmī) junhāī (=jyōtsnā, cā͂dnī) karē͂?*]

'We are few, our enemies are many—cowards talk like that: O foolish woman! look at the spaces of the sky: how many make moonlight?'

(5) *puttē jāē kavaṇu guṇu?—avaguṇu kavaṇu, muēṇa?*
jā bappikkī bhumhaḍī campijjaï avarēṇa?

[=*put janā, (tō) kaun gun? muā, (tō) kaun auguṇ? jō bāp-*

kī bhū̃ī (=zamīn) cā̃pījē (=cā̃pī jāē—cā̃p lī, dakhl kī) aur-nē?]

'What good if the son is born, and what harm if he is dead? If the father's land is attacked (or seized) by another?'

The Turks who conquered Northern India in the 10th-13th centuries were a group of foreigners who found themselves in an alien land where when they had once settled down they must acclimatise themselves sooner or later. The ruling classes spoke Turkī (Eastern Turkī or Cagatai dialect) at home, but they had been already sufficiently influenced and softened by their civilised subjects in what is now Afghanistan, viz., by the Persians of the Eastern Iranian tracts as to have accepted the latters' language as their official and culture language, to the exclusion of their mother-tongue. With the Turkish conquerors came a host of their subjects from otuside India, Persian-speaking soldiers and officials. The Pashto-speaking Afghans as yet had not attained to an importance, and they were, in the 12th century, an insignificant tribe living along the Sulaiman Mountains, who were not yet wholly Islamised. Round about Kabul, and on the Indo-Iranian borderland (in what is now Eastern Afghanistan, along the Indian frontier), the people were Hindus of the same race and language as the people of Western Panjab. These people have now become largely merged among the Pashto- and Persian-speaking Muhammadans of Afghanistan.

The Turks and Persians thus came to India, and established themselves permanently with the Persian language: and as soon as they settled down in the country and in a generation began to take Indian wives, their Indianisation began: soldiers in a conquering army do not bring their wives with them. There were soon very few pure Turks and Iranians among these conquerors. In one generation their children were largely half-castes, and the progressive Indianisation continued when their wives had to be Indians—they became quadroons in the third generation, and octroons in the fourth, and their original foreign blood thus became quite negligible. Their Indianisation in speech commenced with the second generation, the mother-tongue of sons and daughter the Turki

conquerors by Indian women had to be Indian languages. Numbers of Indians in the Panjab who adopted Islam from the first occupation of the Panjab by the Ghazna house supplied a ground or foothold for the Indianised Turks and Persians to take their stand upon. In those days of long and perilous travel, it is no wonder that people would be cut off from the fountain-head of a particular type of culture which originated in a different and distant country. The Indianised foreign Muhammandans, who were also largely Indianised in blood, might cherish and passionately cling to the Persian language, literature and culture of their fathers and grand-fathers, but it was inevitable that they should accept an Indian language.

The language that they first adopted was naturally that current in the Panjab. Even in these days, there is not much difference between the Panjab dialects, particularly those of Eastern Panjab, from those spoken in the Westernmost parts of the United Provinces; and eight or nine hundred years ago, we might imagine that the difference was still less: it is even likely that an almost identical speech was current in Central and Eastern Panjab (if not in Western Panjab and Hindu Afghanistan as well) and Western United Provinces.

Mahmud of Ghazna permanently added the Panjab to his empire, leaving the rest of India into which he had led plundering raids. A period of peaceful contact between the Persian-using (although at home Turki-speaking) conquerors and the Panjabi people began. Hindus began to study Persian, and like the Hindu Tilak some rose to eminence under the Ghaznavid dynasty. Inspite of the iconoclasm of the Turki invaders, there were highly cultured people among them, like the scholar Al-Bērūnī, who studied Sanskrit and left a detailed and sympathetic account of India written during the first quarter of the 11th century. Mahmud of Ghazna actually wanted to approach his Indian subjects in their own language in his coins: witness his interesting silver *dirham* with the translation of the Arabic creed and his name and mint mark and date in the Hijra era, all in Sanskrit: *avyaktam ēkam, Muhammada avatāra; nṛpati Mahamūda; ayaṁ ṭankō Mahā-*

mūdapurē ghaṭē hatō : jināyana-saṁvat... The Indescribable is one, Muhammad is the incarnation (a rather free rendering of the Muhammadan creed): Mahmūd the ruler of men; this coin or rupee has been struck in the mint at Mahmūdpur: year.... of the passing of the *jina.*' The translation of the name of the Hijra era (='Flight', i.e. the departure of the Prophet,= *jināyana,* the Arabic *rasūl* or *nabī* being rendered by *jina* in Sanskrit) is noteworthy. This rapprochement was continued by the Pathan ruler Shahābuddīn Muhammad Ghōrī, who in his personal name of Muhammad bin Sām struck coins emplyoing the Indian Nagari character *(srī mahamada sāma, srī-hamīra=amīr)* imitating the bull and horseman coins of the Hindu kings of Afghanistan, and even with the figure of the goddess Lakshmī. The atmosphere for the assimilation of the Turki and Iranian conquerors among the Indians was there: it did not succeed because of the frequent reinforcements of these conquerors from outside, which continuaully stiffened their attitude and so made them (at least among the section which led them) cling to their Islamic aloofness in matters religious, disdaining any overt compromise with what they looked down upon the idolatrous religion of an inferior conquered race; but nevertheless the local language triumphed, making Indians of the conquerors and their descendants, and welding them into one people with the upper ranks of the Indians who were converted to Islam.

In the Panjab, the settled foreign conquerors, partly modified by the Indian environment during the 11th--12th centuries, received a fresh influx of their Turki and Persian kinsmen in the 12th--13th centuries, when the Ghori house established itself in India after the defeat of Prithwiraj Chauhan, the last Hindu King of Delhi and Ajmer. The Turki Slave Dynasty began from 1206, when Qutbuddin Aibak became the first Muhammadan ruler of Northern India. Delhi became the capital, and the Panjab fell into the background. But it is likely that Panjabi Muhammadans who came to Delhi as followers of the Turki and Persian conquerors had the greatest importance of all the Indian groups in the new capital. They

brought their dialect to Delhi: and their dialect, which agreed with those of the districts to the north and north-west of Delhi in some important matters, gave the tone and supplied some salient characteristics to the new *Verkehrssprache* or Business Speech which came into being in the new capital city, which the native people of the Midland (Hindustan) and the Indianised Turks and Persians, and Moslemised Panjabis forming a good portion of the new-comers, could all speak.

The basis of such a *Verkehrssprache* was found in Western Apabhraṁśa as current in the Panjab and Western United Provinces. And Apabhraṁśa was at that time in a state of transition from the earlier Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan to the later vernacular or New Indo-Aryan stage in Hindustan, though not in the Panjab. The new *Verkehrssprache* was thus bound to be in a fluid state for some centuries.

The dialects of Northern India from the Panjab to Bihar (both the tracts inclusive) fall into four groups, in popular conception: (1) Panjabi; (2) Pachhānhā *(Pachãhā)* or 'Western' Dialects; (3) Purabiyā or Pūrbī, i.e. 'Eastern' Dialects; and (4) Bihari. South-west of (2) is another group— (5) Rajasthani. The Panjabi and Pachhānhā groups overlap to some extent. In the evolution of Hindusthani, Purabiya and Bihari as well as the Rajasthani groups of dialects can be omitted, as in grammar these are rather different, although speakers of the Purabiya dialects ('Eastern Hindi'—Awadhi or Baiswari, Bagheli and Chattisgarhi), of Bihari (Bhojpuriya, Maithili, Magahi and Chota Nagpuriya) and of Rajasthani (numerous dialects, like Mewati, Jaipuri, Marwari, Mewari, Malwi, etc.) now have adopted Hindi or Hindusthani (High-Hindi and to a very slight extent Urdu) as their language of literature and public life. The basis of Hindi (Hindusthani) are the *Pachãhā* dialects (particularly of the 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Bāngarū groups), and Eastern Panjabi to some extent. The Pachhānhā or Western dialects are the so-called 'Western Hindi' dialects: Braj-bhakha, Kanauji, Bundeli on the one hand, and the dialect known as 'Vernacular Hindustani' (Meerut and Rohilkhand Divisions and Ambala District) and Bangaru or Hariani

(Delhi, Rohtak, Hissar and Patiala) on the other.

Braj-bhakha, Kanauji and Bundeli differ in some important matters from 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Bangaru.

The most noteworthy points of difference are—(i) the Braj-bhakha group has *-au* or *-ō* as the ending of ordinary masculine nouns and adjectives (*mērau bēṭau āyau,* or *mērō bēṭō āyō* 'my son came'), whereas the other group has *-ā (mērā bēṭā āyā,* in 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Bangaru). It may be said that the Rajasthani dialects agree with the Braj-bhakha group of Pachhānhā in being *-au* or *-ō* dialects (e.g., *mhārō bēṭō āyō,* or *āyōḍō);* whereas the Panjab dialects are *-ā* dialects like 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Bangaru (e.g., *mērā *beṭṭā* [*putt* or *puttar*] *āeā);* (ii) the Braj-bhakha group have forms like *tā, wā, yā, jā, kā* for the oblique of the various pronouns, whereas the other group has forms like *tis, us, is, jis, kis*: Panjabi agrees with the 'Vernacular Hindustani' group in this matter (e.g. *is* or *es, os, jis, kis*). There are some other points of difference, but the above are the most noteworthy. Then, again, it must be mentioned that the Panjabi dialects, whether of Eastern Panjab or Western Panjab, still preserve the double consonants and the short vowels of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa): e.g. Panjabi *kamm* 'work', *wicc* 'within', *camm* 'skin', *hatth* 'hand', *sacc* 'true', *cand* 'moon', *makkhaṇ* 'butter', etc., whereas the Braj-bhakha group of Pachhānhā prefers the characteristic, common to New Indo-Aryan, of one consonant with a long vowel, e.g. *kām, bīc, cām, hāth, sāc (sā̃c), cā̃d, mākhan.* Normally, Hindusthani (High-Hindi, Urdu) should have forms with one consonant preceded by a long vowel: e.g. *āj* <*ajja* <*adya, hāth* <*hattha* <*hasta, cā̃d* <*canda* <*candra, kām* < *kamma* <*karma, bāt* <*vattā* <*vārtā,* Old Hindi *sāda* <*sadda, śabda,* etc. But we have quite a number of words in Hindusthani which show a short vowel + a short or single consonant. These words are properly against the spirit of Hindi or Hindusthani and are to be explained as the result of Panjabi influence. Thus Panjabi *sacc* influenced or gave the Hindusthani *sac* (instead of *sāc* or *sā̃c* which is found dialectally), *kall* influ-

enced *kal* (rather than *kāl* which is found as a dialectal form in Hindusthani), *natth* influenced *nath, sabb* helped to establish *sab, rattī* 'a red berry' gave Hindi *rattī* (instead of **rātī*), etc. There has been always a tacit acceptance of Panjabi lead or superiority in this matter, that is why a Panjabising pronunciation was thought to be elegant :—it is so even now, though many will not accept such a suggestion: in the olden days it also reminded one of the Apabhraṁśa double consonants and short vowels—and in India conservatism in language has always a charm with even the masses. Bangaru leans towards Panjab dialects in preferring double consonants, and 'Vernacular Hindustani' hesitates in this matter—it presents a conflict of tendencies.

Delhi, within the Bangaru dialect area, is almost at the junction of Braj-bhakha, Rajasthani, 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Bangaru tracts; and somehow—through an initial Panjabi-cum-Bangaru-and-'Vernacular-Hindustani' influence, it would seem—the new speech that grew up in Delhi was based on an *-ā* dialect, not on an *-au* or *-ō* dialect. It is not necessary to go into this question in detail now. Suffice it to say that a new form of North Indian speech, on the basis of the Eastern Panjab and Western United Provinces dialects, came into prominence from after the foundation of a Muhammadan ruling house in Northern India, at Delhi. Although a daughter of the house, at first it was a neglected child: it was treated as a waif, by both the Muhammadan ruling communities of Delhi and their Hindu subjects. The former affected Persian for literary purposes, Persian which was partly the inheritance (of Indianised foreign Muhammadans) and partly the cultural language of adoption (of Islamised Indians who formally affiliated themselves to their conquerors and rulers as their clients and received toleration and support from them as their co-religionists). The Hindus employed their various local dialects when they wrote anything: Ḍiṅgal, a literary form of Rajasthani, and Piṅgal or a vernacular continuation of Western Apabhraṁśa in Rajasthan; Braj-bhakha in the Midland

proper, with its centre at Mathura and its ramifications both East (upto Bihar) and West (including the Panjab, and some parts of Rajputana), South (upto Berar) and North (upto Garhwal and Kumaun); Awadhi or Baiswari, in Oudh; and a little Bhojpuriya, further to the East; besides Maithili in Mithila or North Bihar. In the Panjab, the Hindus employed a mixture of Panjabi and Braj-bhakha.

Braj-bhakha, as the direct descendant of Śaurasēnī Prakrit, the most elegant Prakrit of the centuries immediately following Christ, was the dominant literary dialect in the Upper Ganges Valley, and the most cultivated; and the Muhammadan aristocracy of Northern India also felt its charm and came under its sway. Hindusthani had at first very little chance against Braj-bhakha: but little by little it came to the forefront, and gradually it became the queen among its sisters; and now it looks as if Hindusthani (Hindi) will force its sister-dialects (and even some of its sister-speeches) to give way to it entirely, themselves retiring into the back-ground of oblivion. How all this has happened will be discussed in the next lecture.

LECTURE III

THE EVOLUTION OF HINDI (HINDUSTHANI) (II)

Recapitulation of the History of the Development of a Common Language in India—Classical Sanskrit and Madhya-deśa—Pali—Śauraseni Prakrit—Mahārāṣṭrī—Śauraseni Apabhraṁśa—Braj-bhākhā—Hindī or Hindwī—Vernacular Literature in North India in the 11th century—Foreign Muhammadans and Hindwī—Western Apabhraṁśa and the 'Prithwīrāja Rāsau'—Mixed Forms of Speech used in Literature—*Pingala*—the Situation in the 12th-13th Centuries—Western Apabhraṁśa (-aū dialect) vs. Hindi or Hindwi at Delhi—the name *Urdu*—its Origin and History—Babar and the Indian Speech—a Macaronic Verse by Babar—the Speech of the Mogul Emperors from the Time of Akbar—Akbar's Verses in Braj-bhākhā—the *Tuhfatu-l-Hind* of Mirza Khan—the name *Urdu* arises in the South—'Hindī' ('Hindawī') and Amīr Khusrau—Hindi (Hindusthani) in the 15th Century—Kabīr—the Sikh Gurus and their Hymns—Evolution of an Indo-Muslim Culture—Languages connected with it—the Muhammadans of North Indian Origin in the Deccan—their Use of Hindi (Hindusthani)—Development of Daknī Hindī (or Daknī) Literature—the 15th, 16th and 17th Century Writers of Dakni Hindi—Dakni Hindi prepares the Way for Persianisation—the Perso-Arabic Script—Dakni dominated by North Indian Urdu at the Present Day—Dakni now reduced to a *patois*—the Example of Dakni, and North Indian Musalmans of the 17th-18th Centuries—*Rekhta*—the extraneous Elements strengthened and naturalised in Urdu—*Yavani*—Spread of this Urdu or Musalmani Hindi—Delhi to Lucknow—*Khari Boli*—Prose Literature in *Khari Boli*—Calcutta and the Establishment of *Khari Boli* (Hindi and Urdu) Prose—the Writers of the College of of Fort William at Calcutta—Establishment of Hindusthani (Hindi and Urdu) in the 19th Century—Hindusthani (Hindustani) as a *Lingua Franca*—English Support of this Speech—Schools, Universities and Colleges, and Hindi and Urdu—Poetry in *Khari Boli* Hindi—Broken or 'Bāzār Hindī' of North India, how it originated—Popular Works in the different Dialects—the Native Elements of Hindi—'Theṭh Hindī': Works in 'Theṭh Hindī'—Actual Situation with Popular Hindusthani—the Demand for a Simplified Grammar—Influence of the Speakers outside of the 'Western Hindi' Area in the Evolution of this Popular or Simplified Hindusthani—the Hindi-Urdu Controversy, its Implications—the Outlook.

We have seen how Hindusthani stands at the end of a chain—how it represents the latest phase in the history of a Common Language in India. In this history, it has always been a language or dialect originating in the western part of the North Indian plains—in the Panjab and Western United Provinces of the present day—which has played the role of a Common Language. First we have Sanskrit — i.e. Classical Sanskrit—from the end of the Brāhmaṇa period, mainly under the inspiration of the Brahmans of the Udīcya or North-Western (that is, Northern Panjab) and Madhya-dēśa or Midland (that is, Western United Provinces) tracts. Sanskrit was soon translated into the domain of the Gods by becoming the language of religion, and transcended all mundane barriers, and has continued to be a Learned Man's Common Speech for Hindu India to our day. Then we have a short interlude, when the action of the Buddhists and Jainas in the East in inaugurating a popular reaction against Vedic ritualism and animal sacrifices and in sponsoring a new intellectual awakening, combined with the political power of the Mauryas, an Eastern dynasty, gave a prominence to an Eastern dialect, the ancient Prakrit of the *Prācya* i.e. *Pūrab* or the Eastern part of Northern India. But the Midland and West quickly recovered its importance, when Pali was created on the basis of the Midland dialects; and Pali was followed by what may be described as a younger form of it, viz., Śaurasēnī Prakrit, considered to be the most elegant form of North Indian Vernacular during the greater part of the 1st millennium A.D. A younger phase of Śaurasēnī Prakrit is probably represented by the Prakrit labelled as Mahārāṣṭrī, which was looked upon as an elegant form of MIA. for verse composition about the middle of the 1st millennium A.D. This Śaurasēnī Prakrit, with elements from the dialects of Rajputana, was transformed into Śaurasēnī Apabhraṁśa which reigned supreme over Indo-Aryan Vernaculars for several centuries, being the most widely spread form of Indian Vernacular Speech in the centuries immediately before the Turki conquest. Western Apabhraṁśa was something like Hindusthani in those days: it created everywhere mixed lite-

rary dialects, on its own basis, with local elements which were unavoidable. The mantle of Western Apabhraṁśa fell partly on Braj-bhākhā, the literary language *par excellence* of Northern India, extending also to Central India, Rajputana and to some extent the Panjab, during the greater part of the period 1200-1850; it fell also on Hindusthani (Hindi) when it came to be characterised at first at Delhi and then in the Deccan, where it was taken in the wake of North Indian Muhammadan invasions.

When the Turks and Iranians with their Muslim religion had started their invasions and conquest of North India in the 10th-11th centuries, the language which was in use for centuries for literary composition among the Rajput ruling houses, apart from the sacred and learned tongue Sanskrit, was certainly Western Apabhraṁśa, more or less mixed with local dialects: pure Braj or Hindi of the New Indo-Aryan stage had not yet taken its rise. The oldest reference in Muhammadan histories to poetry composed in a language of North India other than Sanskrit and Prakrit, i.e. in the literary speech as current in Rajput courts, takes us back to 1022 A.D., when according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizamuddin, the Rajput king of Kalanjar composed some verses 'in the Hindū tongue' extolling the bravery and skill of some Turki soldiers in catching and mounting a number of elephants presented by the Hindu ruler which were sent loose and driverless, and sent these verses to Mahmud of Ghazna. Mahmud showed these verses to 'the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets who were in attendance on him.' The oldest Muslim of foreign origin who wrote in Hindi was Mas'ūd ibn Sa'd, who lived in the court of Ibrahim, the grandson of Mahmud, and died sometime between 1125 and 1130 A.D. His people were immigrants from Hamadan in Iran, and his *Dīwāns* in Persian, Arabic and 'Hindi' are mentioned by Amīr Khusrau. It is not known what kind of dialect exactly his 'Hindī' was, but it seems more likely that it was the common literary Apabhraṁśa current in the 12th century than anything like Braj-bhākhā or later Hindusthani. (Prof. H.

C. Ray, "Beginnings of Hindustani Poetry in India," *Proceedings of the 8th All-India Oriental Conference*, Mysore, 1935). For in the 13th-14th centuries, we have no Hindi or Hindusthani as yet. Also 'Hindi' poems ascribed to a Muslim saint of the Panjab, Bābā Farīd, 12th-13th centuries, are known: these are noted below.

Prithwīrāj, or Pithaurā, the last Hindu King of Delhi, has his exploits narrated in the huge poem *Prithwīrāj-Rāsau* attributed to his court poet Canda Baradāī. It can be questioned how far the contents as well as the language of the poem are genuine: i.e., how far both can be taken to the 12th-13th century, when its reputed author lived. The work can reasonably be expected to retain a certain amount of Canda Baradāī's own composition, but the language must have changed a great deal. Muni Sri Jinavijayaji has discovered in two prose tales written in Sanskrit which are found in a Jaina collection of *prabandhas* or prose narratives dating from fourth quarter of the 16th century some verses in Western Apabhraṁśa composed by *Canda Baliddaü* (i.e. *Canda Baraddiyā* or *Canda Baradāī*) which agree substantially with some (very corrupt) verses in the printed edition of the *Rāsau* published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha. (*Prabandha-cintāmaṇi-grantha-sambaddha Purātana Prabandha-Saṅgraha*, No. 2 in *Singhī Jaina Grantha-mālā*, Ahmedabad and Calcutta, 1936, Introduction, pp. 9-10). The language presented by the verses in these old Sanskrit prose tales about Prithwīrāj and Jayacand is good Apabhraṁśa, but the same cannot be said of the language of the text of the *Prithwīrāj Rāsau* as received and published. As it is, the language of the *Rāsau* is not a living dialect,—it is not the spoken language of any period or province. It is an artificial literary dialect, with forms from a whole host of speeches covering a number of centuries and several thousands of square miles. The main elements are Western Apabhraṁśa, with Early Western Hindi, and Rajasthani dialects, and Early Panjabi features here and there. A mixed dialect of this type gradually became current after 1200 A.D. in Rajput poetry, and was known as *Pingala* or *Pingal*. But this mixed dialect

of Rajput bardic poetry was a specialised speech—a class dialect, understood only by the initiated: it was not a language of the masses.

After the settlement of the Turks and Iranis and the establishment of the first Muhammadan ruling house at Delhi, a Modified Western Apabhraṁśa was all that was ready as a Common Language for the masses of the North Indian Plains, Braj-bhākhā coming into prominence in the 16th century; and Braj-bhākhā remained a specialised literary dialect rather than a popular one. Gujarat and Western Rajasthan had a common literary language—a NIA. form of speech derived from the Western Apabhraṁśa as current there, and a rich literature in it, both of Jaina and Brahmanical inspiration, has now come to light, which belongs to the 14th-16th centuries. So that the evolution of Hindusthani from the 12th-13th centuries onwards was opportune—it came in when something like it was required, particularly by the Muhammadan rulers, who, when of foreign origin, did not understand and did not care for the pre-Muslim linguistic or literary tradition, and when of native Indian origin they ceased to have touch with that tradition and so they began gradually to lose it. Anything which was intelligible to the largest number of people was good enough for both these groups of Indian Musalmans; and the rank and file of the Hindus would not object, since the maintenance of of the old tradition in their literary work was not interfered with.

But it must be supposed that the Hindus, particularly of the -*ā* dialect areas (Western United Provinces and Panjab) could be indifferent to this speech. Nobody began it deliberately and formally as a new language; it was an imperceptible development out of the -*ā* dialects of Western Hindi, stimulated by the Panjabi speech of the first Indian Muslims. It was spoken in the bazaars of Delhi as a matter of course, because Delhi is within the Bangaru tract, where we have an -*ā* dialect. It was not an artificial language that grew up in the court and camp of the Turki rulers at Delhi. Its first name was *Hindī* or *Hindwī (Hindawī)* which simply meant '(the langu-

ige) of Hind' or India, or 'of the Hindus.' The other name, Zabān-e-Urdū or 'the Language of the Camp' arose much later—as late as the end of the 17th century, when the Delhi speech was much in evidence in the Deccan with the Mogul emperor sending and leading expedition after expedition against the Deccan Muslim States and the Marathas.

The use of the term *Urdū* to mean 'the city or place where the king was in residence' is found on some of the coins of Akbar. The word came with the Turki conquerors. In its origin, it is an Altaic word found in the various Turki languages and dialects in the forms *Ordu, Urdu* and *Yurt*: *Urdū* is a Persianised spelling of the word. The Turki word means 'tent, camp, encampment, dwellings, dwelling or encampment of a chief.' The Turki and Mongol princes' camps or tents were their courts; and Babar being a Turk, the courts of the 'Mogul' or 'Mughal' line founded by him, although it became Persianised and Indianised in the second generation, from Humayun's time, also came to be designated by the old Turki word, slightly modified as *Urdū* to suit Persian and Indian speech habits which preferred a long vowel finally. The word has persisted in Turki in the sense of 'camp, home, homeland': cf. one of the Modern Turkish (Osmanli) names for 'the home or the land of the Turks'—*Türk-ordu.* In the time of Akbar and Jahangir, there was no question of any other speech than Persian being recognised as the official and court language. Persian in the 16th—17th centuries was, even more than French in Restoration England, and in Early 19th century Russia, the language of the Indian *élite* in the Muslim states of Northern India. If a court noble, Muslim or Hindu, patronised or composed verses in the vernacular, he used the language that was already in use among Hindu literary men and had already a rich tradition rivalling Persian, rich with all the wealth of Sanskrit in vocabulary, in prosody, in rhetoric. Khān Khānān Rahīm, a courtier poet of Akbar's court, wrote in Braj-bhākhā and even Akbar has Braj-bhākhā couplets attributed to him. But there was no question of Braj-bhākhā, so thoroughly Hindu in spirit and in script, being given an official or formal recog

nition. The nobles at Delhi and Agra spoke an old form of Hindusthani, Khaṛī Bōlī, mingled with contiguous dialects—Panjabi, Braj, Jaipuri, Marwari, and with a fairly large Perso-Arabic vocabulary. But no one as yet had taken it up seriously among the Muhammadans, and applied the Persian script for it, although Kabir and other *Sādhus* and *Sants,* i.e. religious mendicants and preachers, had sought to give it good recognition as a suitable dialect for their religious admonitions, discourses, experiences and mystic feelings; and Kabir and others situated like him had not disdained on occasions to use a Perso-Arabic vocabulary. The vernacular, as Pure Braj-bhākhā or as Hindusthani in the making, struggled on outside the *darbār* or court of the Bādshāh or Emperor of Delhi. Although the Mogul emperors from Akbar onwards spoke at home an early form of Hindusthani, there was as yet no Indian language which could be labelled as a *Bādshāhī Bōlī,* or a *Darbārī Zabān*—an 'Imperial Speech' or a 'Court Language', like 'the King's English' in England of the 15th century.

There is no long and connected specimen of the language that was developing among the best or the highest classes of Indian and Indianised Musalmans of the Panjab and Hindustan during the period 1200-1650. A few poems ascribed to Bābā Farīd (Shaikh Farīdu-d-dīn Ganj-Shakar), a Sūfī saint (born near Multan, 1173 A.D., and died 1266 A.D.) have been found in the *Ādi-Granth* of the Sikhs (cf. Prof. Baldev Singh, *Lahore Oriental College Magazine, Urdu Section,* February 1941, pp. 118 ff., 'Nasab-nāma-e-Hazrat Bābā Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-śakar:' some Panjabi verses are also ascribed to him), but there is no knowing how far the language is authentic; the texts, 4 *sabads (śabdas)* and 130 *salōks (ślōkas)* as they occur in the *Ādi-Granth* are manifestly corrupt. It would appear that the 130 *salōks* were by a later Shaikh Farīd who was contemporaneous with Guru Nānak (15th—16th centuries), and only the 4 *sabads* can be attributed to Farīdu-d-dīn Ganj-Shakar of the 12th—13th centuries. The language of these four poems has a genuine Old Hindi ring, and though the vocabulary is mixed, with Perso-Arabic words in a modified form, the In-

dian elements preponderate. Fragments of "Early Urdu Conversation," as they occur in the Persian works on Indian history, have been culled for English readers by Dr. Grahame Bailey (BSOS., London Institution, 1930, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 205-208). From these fragments we note that as yet in the 16th century Khari-Boli Hindi of the 17th—18th centuries is not established, but Perso-Arabic words are being freely used by the Indian Muslim noblemen and religious men. That the language of ruling classes had become a form, or forms of Hindi (or Panjabi) is attested from the inevitable admission of Indian words in the Persian works which came to be composed in India after the Turki conquest; and Persian words too changed their meaning in India . A list of such Indian words and Persian words which altered their sense is given in Prof. Muhammad 'Abdul Ghani's *History of Persian language and Literature at the Mughal Court,* Allahabad, 1929, part I, pp. 131-137. Indian words similarly feature in the Arabic Travels of the Moroccan world-tourist Ibn Batuta (1304-1378) (see list in pp. 62-63 of Prof. Ghani's work, part I), and in the Turki autobiography of the first Mogul Emperor, Babar (list, ibid., p. 59). It is interesting to note that Babar found the Indian speech so much in force in his Indian Muslim entourage that he essayed half a verse in it, which occurs in a Ms. collection of his poems. (Cf. "Early Urdu Conversation" by T. Grahame Bailey, as quoted above). The verse is Hindi in the first line, and mixed Arabic, Turki and Hindi in the second;

muj-kā na huā kuj havas-e-mānak-o-mōtī
fuqarā ḥālina bas bulgusidur pānī-o-rōtī,

('I have no desire for gems and pearls; for the state of poor people, sufficient are water and bread'). What was with Babar a foreign conqueror's amused curiosity, mingled with a literary man's experimentation, became evidently the most natural thing with his Indianised grandson Akbar as an Indian sovereign.

Akbar composed distichs in Braj-bhākhā, and if any Indo-Aryan language could be labelled as a *Bādšāhī Bōlī* in North

India, it was certainly Braj-bhākhā. Urdu was not yet in existence—except perhaps orally, and even then it was quite Indian in its character. Among the distichs in Braj-bhākhā attributed to Akbar may be quoted:

jā-kō jasa hai jagata-mẽ, jagata sarāhai jāhi,
tā-kō janama saphala hai, kahata Akabbara sāhi:

'He whose fame there is in the world, and whom the world honours, his birth (indeed) is fruitful: so says Akbar the king' (cf. Ram Naresh Tripathi, *Kavitā-kaumudī*, Part I, sixth ed., Allabahad, Samvat 1990, pp. 48-49: two more poems, in four lines, also signed *Akabbara*, are given in that work). Another distich in honour of Akbar's intimate friends, composed by the emperor in his old age after they had all passed away, runs thus:

Pīthala sõ majalisa gaī, Tānasēna sõ rāga:
hãsibau, ramibau, bōlibau gayau Bīrabala sātha

'With Pīthala (=Prithwīrāj of Bikaner) the assembly has departed; with Tānsen, musical modes have gone; and laughter and pleasantries and conversation have gone with Bīrbal' (quoted by Alakh-dhari Singh, "Stories of Rathor Chivalry," No. 1, *Raja Rai Singhji*, Bikaner 1934, p. 158; cf. also Prof. M. A. Ghani's book quoted above, part III, Allahabad 1930, pp. 31-32, for another distich attributed to Akbar). Akbar's successors Jahāngīr and Shāh-jahān are said to have cultivated Braj-bhākhā, and in Aurangzeb's time their is the evidence of the *Tuḥfatu-l-Hind* to show that the Muslim courtiers in the Delhi court were very much interested in Braj-bhākhā. According to the *Ma'āsir-i-'Alamgīrī (Bibliotheca Indica* Text, p. 334: I have to thank Sir Jadunath Sarkar for the reference), Aurangzeb when in the Deccan early in 1690 is said to have quoted the following vernacular verse when a Muslim from Bengal who had travelled all the way to the lands of the Krishna river to meet the emperor had pressed the latter to make him his (the emperor's) *murīd* or spiritual disciple:

ṭōpī lēndē, bāwrī dēndē, kharē nilaj,
*cūhā khāndā māwalī, tu kal bandhē chaj**

'You are taking the *(faqīr's)* cap, and giving up your long locks, O greatly shameless one! the mouse is eating the *māwalī* (? 'the house': cf. Arabic *ma'wā),* and to morrow you will fix the eaves of the house (the roof)!'

By the end of the 14th century, the Muslim states of the Deccan—the Bahmani kingdom and then the five states into which it was split, viz. Berar, Bidar, Golconda, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur—which were dominated by North Indian Muslims, were centres of the North Indian speech taken from the Delhi side; and Golconda particularly was the place where the North Indian dialects developed a literary form. Bijapur also took some part in this. In the 17th century, a Deccan dialect (or dialects?) of Hindusthani was already in a flourishing condition as the literary language of the North Indian Muslims settled in the Deccan; and when the Hindustani (or Hindusthani) of Delhi reached there in the wake of the Mogul army, particularly when Aurangzeb came down on his campaigns, it (the Delhi speech) merited specially the name of *Zabān-e-Urdū-e-Mu'allā* or 'the Language of the Exalted Camp,' to distinguish itself from the earlier form of speech established there by earlier waves of North Indian Muhammadan invasion and immigration. The word *Urdū* is just a contracted form of that descriptive name.

To come back to the language as it was evolving in and about Delhi. Its original names, then, were *Hindī* or *Hindwī;* and sometimes, to describe it clearly, it was called *Dehlawī,* or 'the Delhi speech.' Amīr Khusrau (1253-1325), one of the

*The text gives the lines in a corrupt form which is difficult to make out: the Perso-Arabic rendering of the Indian verse when transcribed runs as follows: *twpy lyndy b'wry dyndy khry nlj / cwh' khdnm'wly tw kl budhy chj*. Here Aurangzeb appears to have used Panjabi and not Hindusthani—much less what may be described as the 'Zabān-e-Urdū-e-mu'allā.'

greatest names in the history of Indo-Muslim literature and scholarship, a writer of Persian whose poems certainly entitle him to a place in the front rank of Persian poets and scholars, is reputed to be the first writer of eminence who essayed this *Hindwī* tongue. Amīr Khusrau knew the language well, and felt a pride in his Hindwī speech and its high literary culture (he thus lumped together, as it has always been done, the Hindusthani Colloquial of his day with the literary dialect of Braj-bhākhā and earlier Apabhraṁśa and possibly Sanskrit), comparing it even with Arabic and Persian. Some of the short lyrics and distichs, and *pahēlīs* or riddles, and love songs, together with some macaronic verse in a mixture of the Hindwī speech and Persian, which are attributed to him, may originally have been composed by him, and possibly they go back to the 14th century, and in this way they form some of the oldest specimens of Hindi; but the received texts must have been modified in the course of centuries.

A Muslim writer like Amīr Khusrau essaying the Indian vernacular in literature was an exception in the 13th-14th centuries. The Hindus did not neglect the dialect which was coming into prominence in the court and the capital. Already in the 15th century the newly-risen Hindi had made good progress, and had affected the established North Indian literary dialects. In the poems of Kabir (15th century), as preserved in the oldest manuscripts of the works of this great saint and poet of India, we meet with a mixed dialect which is not pure Braj-bhākhā, such as we find in the works of Sūrdās (16th century), for instance: it is mixed Hindi (Hindusthani) and Braj-bhākhā. And the poets of the Panjab found this Hindi or Hindusthani more congenial than Braj-bhākhā, although the Braj-bhākhā tradition as a continuation of the earlier Apabhraṁśa was very strong in the Panjab. The language of the devotional poems of the earlier Gurus of the Sikh faith is a case in point. One might say that the possibility of making a literary use of Hindusthani had become a certainty in the language of Kabir and in the Panjabi-Hindusthani-Braj-bhākhā mixture of the Panjab poets.

A distinctive Indo-Muslim culture took form during the second half of the 16th century under Akbar: it was elaborated and completed in the 17th and 18th centuries, under the Great Moguls: and this Indo-Muslim culture is the common heritage of both the Hindus and Musalmans of present-day India. By the end of the 16th century, Indian Muslims (whether of foreign, or of native, or mixed origin) who found Persian to be a foreign language for them, had become thoroughly reconciled to the vernacular; and when they wrote in it, in North India, they adopted that form of it which possessed the greatest prestige, namely, Braj-bhākhā.

It was the Deccan which set the example to North India in the direction of literary employment of what may be called Hindusthani or Hindi proper, as opposed to Braj-bhākhā. North Indian Muslims, soldiers and adventurers, had been pouring into the Deccan during the 13th-16th centuries, where they were carving positions and fortunes for themselves in the Maratha, Kannada and Telugu countries, sometimes penetrating even into the Tamil country. Judging from the kind of speech the descendants of these North Indian Muslims still speak in the Deccan (specimens are to be found in the *Linguistic Survey of India,* Vol. IX, Part I), and from the language of early Dakni (or Deccani) poetry of the 16th-17th centuries (cf. 'Urdu Shahpārē', by Dr. Sayyad Mohiuddin Qadri, Haidarabad-Dakan, Part 1, 1929), it is clear that they mostly hailed from the Panjab and from the Bangaru and 'Vernacular Hindustani' dialect areas of North India. (Cf. forms like *calyā, rakhyā, māryā, bōlyā*=Hindusthani *calā, rakhā, karā* or *kiyā, bōlā*='gone, kept, struck, spoken,' respectively, but in Panjabi, in some kinds of the 'Vernacular Hindustani' and in the Bangaru dialect we have forms like *calleā* or *callyā, rakkheā, māreā, bōlyā* =Panjabi *akkheā,* etc.). At any rate, the North Indian Vernacular which became established in the South was a sister-speech to Hindusthani, if not exactly identical with it, being of same Panjab and Western United Provinces origin.

Unquestionably not one single but several closely related dialects found their way to the Deccan. But a distinctive literary standard appears to have grown up at Golconda during the close of the 16th century, with Mullā Wajhī (author of the *Qutb Muštarī*, composed in 1609, and of the prose work *Sab Ras*, composed in 1634) and Sultān Muhammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh of Golconda (1580-1611) as its first artistic poets. Even before the close of the 16th century North Indian Musalmans were composing religious poetry in the Deccan, in the Hindu style, in native Hindi metres, and with a pronounced Indian vocabulary of Sanskrit and Prakritic words. It was all in the Hindu tradition, so to say, except the script—as in the case of the Early Awadhi of Malik Muhammad Jayasi in Northern India, the author of the *Padumāwati* (1545). The earliest Muhammadan poets of the Deccan who wrote before Wajhī and Sultān Qūlī Qutb Shāh were Shāh Mīrānjī (died A.H. 902=1496 A.D.), who was a Sūfī *Pīr* or religious teacher, his son Shāh Burhānuddīn Jānam (died 990 A.H.=1582 A.D.: cf. 'Urdū Shahpārē,' and Prof. Muhammad Hafiz Syed's edition of the *Sukh-Sahēlā*, which is noted below), and Miyān Khūb Muhammad Chishtī of Ahmedabad who wrote the *Khūb Tarang*, c. 1575. Shāh Burhānuddīn was an excellent poet with some nine works to his credit: one of these, a small one called the *Sukh-Sahēlā*, has been edited and translated into English by Prof. M. Hafiz Syed of the University of Allahabad in 1930. The *Sukh-Sahēlā* has the vocabulary and metre of Hindu Hindi, although it is written in the Perso-Arabic script: it is very like the 'Hindi' we find in Kabir's poems and in the works of the *Sants*. Shāh Burhān and his father both flourished at Bijapur. Shāh Burhān's language has some distinct Panjabi affinities, and it is noteworthy that he calls it *Guj(a)rī* as contrasted with *Bhākā=Bhākhā*, i.e. *Braj-bhākhā*. This name Gujrī gives an indication of the origin and affinity of this dialect: evidently the Gūjars of the Panjab, who have given their name to Gujrāt and Gujrānwālā, towns in the Panjab (anciently a branch of the same *Gurjara* tribe had settled in Saurāṣṭra or Kathiawad and Lāṭa and other contiguous tracts,

and their predominance changed the name of the country to *Gurjara-trā* or Gujarāt early in the second half of the 1st millennium A.D.), had come in good numbers with the North Indian armies, and they maintained their name and their dialect in the Deccan for some time. This Gujrī speech of Shāh Burhān is not Gujarātī at all: it is a form of the *-ā* dialect group of Western Hindi and Panjabi, and is a Panjab dialect to start with, which possessed the root *ach* 'to be' side by side with *hō*. The Deccan literary tradition thus started in the 16th century with what may be called a sister-form of Hindusthani, and this tradition continued until it merged into that of Northern Hindusthani or Urdu, after paving the way for the latter.

The North Indian Musalmans were already far away from their homelands, and to them, Persian was two degrees removed-they could not hope to cultivate both Persian (which remotely linked them with the Muhammadan world outside India) and the North Indian Vernacular which they must never forget and must keep up if they did not want to be absorbed among the Marathas, the Kannadas and the Telugus who were overwhelmingly Hindus. So they decided for the Hindusthani which they had brought with them from the North, as for them it meant a living touch with Delhi and other centres of Muslim power and Muslim culture in India. They wrote their language in the Persian character, and in this way they fixed the orientation of the language in the hands of the Muslims, although they themselves did not think of affiliating their language to Persian either for ideas or for words, at least in the earlier phases; they took up an Indian ('Hindi') vocabulary and Indian ideas (slightly Islamised whenever suitable) as a matter of course. But so very much associated was this North Indian speech with the Muslim ruling classes in the Deccan that it acquired the name of *Musalmāṇī* as well, among the local Hindus. In the 17th and 18th centuries there was a flourishing literary life in this speech. It could look back to the works of Sultān Muhammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh and Mullā Wajhī and others as forming classics in it. But the advent of Delhi 'Hindustani' brought in a conflict of dialects in the

Deccan from the 18th century onwards, in which Delhi Hindustani (*Šimālī Urdū* or 'Northern Urdu,' as it is called in the Deccan, in contradistinction to *Daknī* or the 'Southern' speech) won, and is now reigning supreme as a literary language in the Deccan, the earlier dialect becoming reduced to the position of a broken *patois* confined to the homes of Deccan and South Indian Muslims who are *mulkīs* (that is, settled in the country for generations), and not *ghair-mulkīs* or new-comers, recent arrivals into the Deccan from North India.

Hindusthani speakers from North India took the lesson from the Deccan Muslims and followed their example from the end of the 17th century in striving consciously to write literature in Persianised Delhi Hindusthani, the 'speech of the exalted court,' which they, too, began to write in the Persian character. Walī is the first known poet of Delhi Hindusthani in its Persianised form: and he had lived in the South. The language as yet was not so much Persianised as in later times: Persian words were comparatively few, being just 'scattered' (*rēxta*) in the line, and hence the language was called 'Rekhta', the earliest form of the present day Urdu-Hindustani poetical speech. Some of Kabīr's verses composed in the 15th century, nay, even those of Bābā Farīd, 12th-13th centuries, may be described as Rekhta: and Bābā Farīd perhaps merits the sobriquet of *Bābā-i-Rēxta* or 'the Father of the Rekhta Speech' more than Walī.

Among the Muhammadans of North India, the 'Rekhta' speech of Walī and others met a real want, and in no time it became popular. An Urdu form of Hindusthani as a literary language thus took rise, and when Walī settled in Delhi about 1723, a school of Urdu poetry came into being. The script linked the language with Persian and Arabic, the official and cultural language, and the sacred speech of Islam, in India; and the identity of script ensured free and easy admission of Persian and Arabic words, to bear testimony to the religious and cultural attitude of the writer and to help him in airing his erudition in the 'Muslim languages': 'Hindwī', the language of the Hindus, could thus

be Muslimised to suit the natural tastes and inclinations of the North Indian Muslims. At first the Hindus of the North Indian plains, content with their Braj-bhākhā, pure (as in Sūra-dāsa) or mixed (as in Kabīr), and with their Awadhī (as in Tulasī-dāsa), remained indifferent. The more orthodox thought that this new literary language, Persianised in script and vocabulary, and in use among Muhammadans mostly, was not ceremonially pure or correct; they called this Urdu style of the Hindi language *Jāmanī* or *Yāmanī,* i. e. *Yāvanī,* 'a language suitable for *Yavans* or non-Hindu barbarians'.

From the beginning of the 18th century, if not from the end of the 17th, a new name came to be applied to this North Indian Hindi speech as spoken and cultivated by the Musalmans: it was the name *Hindōstānī.* It is exceedingly likely that this name arose in the Deccan, to indicate the northern speech, the speech of *Hindustān,* in contradistinction to the *Daknī* or the 'Hindi speech of the South'. Ketelaer and other Europeans who came in touch with it in Gujarat and the Deccan knew it by this name; and by 1750, the name also was accepted by North Indian peoples (the Hindus quickly Indianised it as *Hindūsthānī),* as a sort of basic dialect of the Zabān-i-Urdū, the cultivated courtly language of poetry. But apathy was not the attitude of all Hindus. Kabīr, more a Hindu than a Muhammadan in his spiritual and mental atmosphere and in the general mass of his literary output, made the Hindu people familiar with a mixed Hindusthani-Braj-bhakha dialect. The Hindus realised the growing importance of the Delhi speech. It had spread to the South. It was current in the North-West. It had already influenced Braj-bhākhā, and in the eighteenth century was pushing as far east as Bengal. A Muhammadan aristocratic house came to Lucknow in the heart of the Awadhi (Eastern Hindi) language area, and established this Hindusthani, albeit in its Muhammadan form, Urdu, there, and made a second home for it, after Delhi, to the almost entire suppression (at least within the city of Lucknow) of the local dialect which had given to the world Tulasī-dāsa. The Hindus of the *-ā* dialect areas, in Western United Provin-

ces and the Panjab, took easily to this Hindi-Hindusthani, even in its Urdu form with its growing number of Persian words, as they found it to be something very close to their home language: while the Hindus of Central and Eastern United Provinces, with their Braj-bhākhā and Kanauji, their Awadhi and Bhojpuriya, did not feel that kind of attraction for it as yet.

Already, towards the end of the 18th century, the Hindus had turned their attention to this Standard Court speech. It had come to acquire a name as the 'Standing Language', *Khaṛī (or Khaḍī) Bōlī;* while the dialects, Braj-bhākhā, Awadhi and the rest, were 'Fallen Languages' *(Paḍī* or *Paṛī Bōlī).* So far, no prose was written in Hindusthani, upto the beginning of the 19th century, except in letters and similar documents, affording little scope for the literary art. The first Hindu writer of this pure Khaṛī-Bōlī Hindusthani, Munshī Sadāsukh, wrote in prose his translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* known as the *Sukh-Sāgar* (end of the 18th century). He used the Deva-nāgarī character, already in use for Braj-bhākhā and Awadhi; and he went to Sanskrit for his learned words. After him, the English scholar James Gilchrist of the College of Fort William at Calcutta encouraged the writing of Hindusthani prose by both Hindu and Muhammadan writers; and as a result, we have the *Bāgh-o-Bahār* of Mīr Amman (fully published 1804) and the *Khīrad Afrōz* of Hāfizuddīn Ahmad (1803-1815), two of the earliest works in Urdu prose, and the *Prēm Sāgar* of Lallūjī Lāl (1803), and the *Nāsikētōpākhyān* of Sadal Miśra (1803), two of the earliest High-Hindi prose works.

Hindusthani, therefore, came out into the modern world as a vehicle of prose in its twin forms, High Hindi (or Nāgarī Hindī) and Urdu, about 1800. There was no Hindu Hindi (or Hindusthani) or Musalman Hindusthani, no Urdu as opposed to Hindī, in the 17th century: the Muhammadan writers in the Deccan cultivated it, but the vocabulary—the main bone of contention—was still largely Indian or Hindu; there was a common *Hindī* or *Hindwī,* or *Dehlawī,* or to give a later name, *Hindūstānī (Hindūsthānī)* speech, which was the common property of both the Hindus and Muslims. The name *Hindustānī*

(Hinduthānī) suggested that it was outgrowing its narrow sense of *Dehlawī* or the Delhi speech; and that of *Zabān-e-Urdū* that it was in use in the imperial camp and army in the Deccan. But during the 19th-20th centuries we have a strange phenomenon; the poets and scholars—and pedants—were at it for over a century and a half; and although the grammar of the two forms of Hindi or Hindustani (Hindusthani) is identical and the common words and roots are the same, the different scripts employed (the native Indian Nāgarī, and the foreign Perso-Arabic), and the deliberate reliance on Persian on the one hand and on Sanskrit on the other, have exaggerated what should have been merely a literary style into a diversity of speech.

Thus we have a popular *Lingua Franca* developed out of the *-ā* dialects of Western Hindī with a certain amount of influence from Early Panjabi in the 13th century and later, which was first put to a serious literary use, in one of its forms, in the 16th century in the Deccan, and which mingled with Braj-bhākhā to give one of the *nuclei* to the future literary language of North India. It was written down in Persian characters and was first used for poetic composition by Delhi Muhammadans following the example of what was done to the Daknī or Deccan form of the same *Lingua Franca* in Golconda and other places in the South. In the 18th century, the Muhammadan form of Hindusthani, so to say, was established, in the works of the earlier Urdu poets; and in the same century, the Hindus also took it up. With the opening of the 19th century Hindusthani makes its *grande entrée* in the arena of New Indo-Aryan literary languages, in its double form of High-Hindi prose and Urdu prose; as Urdu poetry, it had been preparing itself in the preceding centuries; and as High-Hindi poetry, its advent was still to be made.

The English gave their fullest support to these literary forms of Hindusthani—particularly to the Persianised Urdu form, as for the English it was to some extent an inheritance from the appurtenances of the later Moguls of Delhi, as the polished, courtly form of a current speech which had in the meanwhile become widely spread throughout the whole of North

India. The use of Hindusthani in its Urdu form in the law court; in the army (Romanised Urdu, besides Urdu in the Persian script), and the allowing of Hindi-Hindusthani in the Nagari character in certain cases, together with the recognition of these languages in the schools and later in the colleges when the Universities of Calcutta, Allahabad and the Panjab were started, assured the success of High-Hindi and Urdu. People naturally wrote in either of the two forms, according to their culture and religion. The press and the platform, religion and politics, took up only one or the other of the two forms of Hindusthani. With the Musalmans, Braj-bhākhā was a pastime in the 16th and 17th centuries: from the 18th, North Indian and Deccan Musalmans educated in Persian and Arabic cared for Urdu only, to the exclusion of other forms of North Indian vernacular speech. The Hindus continued to cultivate Braj-bhākhā and Awadhi, but from the 19th century, High-Hindi claimed their chief attention; the example of Urdu poetry and the archaic character as well as the diversity of Awadhi and Braj-bhākhā induced the Hindus to write poetry in High-Hindi (Khari Boli) or Standard Hindusthani also, from the middle of the last century; so that it has now become established in Hindu poetry as well as in Hindu prose. Modern Khari Boli (High-Hindi) poetry is represented by a growing number of very capable poets, some of whom are men of true genius, and although Braj and Awadhi still claim votaries from among Hindus who write 'Hindi' poetry, the continuation of the literary life of these dialects is doomed—except, possibly, among those who would continue them as their home dialects. Speakers of Panjabi (except the Sikhs, who mostly hold on to their native Panjabi written in the Gurmukhi character), of Braj-bhākhā, of Kanauji and of Eastern Hindi and Bihari, as well as of Rajasthani and a number of other languages and dialects, have gradually abandoned these for High-Hindi or Urdu as the language of education and public life.

The spread of Hindi (Hindustani or Hindusthani) during the 17th and 18th centuries is one of the greatest gifts to India of the centralised Mogul government. The language carried

with it everywhere the prestige of the Delhi court. Persian had somewhat receded into the background; and Hindi or Hindustani (Hindusthani), more or less Persianised as the *Zabān-e-Urdū-emu'allā,* 'the Language of the Exalted Camp or Court'—a sort of Bādshāhī or King's Speech, was always the fashionable and elegant language among those who had anything to do with the court, the army or the administration, in the different *Subahs* or provinces of the Mogul empire, from the 18th century.

The Urdu *šā'irs* or poets, and the *Maulawis, Munshis* and *Mullas,* went on their way, composing and elaborating Persianised Urdu; and the Pandits and other Hindu writers built up a Sanskritised Hindi. But the masses had their own way with the Hindi or Hindusthani: the masses of Indians, Hindus and Muhammadans, from Western Panjab to Eastern Bengal. They used and still use Hindusthani as the common currency of life when they have to hold commerce with people of a different speech: they know nothing of the treasures of thought and fine talk which are culled from the store-houses of Arabic and Persian and Sanskrit with a view to enrich the Hindi language—in High-Hindi and Urdu: except that in the case of the Hindus of North India, outside Bengal, a few works of outstanding merit in the domain of religion and romance have permeated down to their lives and have been supplying them with spiritual and literary pabulum for the last few centuries: e.g. the *Rāmacarita-Mānasa* of Tulasī-dāsa and some of his other works, the *Sūra-Sāgara* of *Sūra-dāsa,* the Songs about the Fifty-two Fights of Ālhā and Ūdal (nephews of Prithwīrāj Chauhān, the last Hindu King of Delhi and Ajmer), the *Bhakta-māl,* and a few others. It did not matter much what the dialect was, so long as the illiterate man could follow the gist, or had the text explained to him. Thus the Tulasi *Rāmāyaṇ* (in Old Awadhī) is popular from the Panjab to Bihar, and the songs of Ālhā and Ūdal (in Bundeli) are heard with rapt attention when they are sung to Bhojpuriya and Magahi speakers even. The masses took the Hindusthani language as the Colloquial Common Language par excellence, with words relating to the simp-

ler and broader things of life, mostly native Hindusthani, and a good few from Perso-Arabic, and a large number from Sanskrit. The masses did not have an occasion to build up or borrow higher culture words; with the store-house of Sanskrit in Tulasī-dāsa and in the *Sūra-sāgara,* for instance, always kept open for them, the capacity to do so was not lacking. But left to themselves, they generally created good words with the materials (both native and Sanskrit, and naturalised foreign) at their disposal, whenever they felt the need: e.g. *āg-bōṭ* ('steamer'—lit. 'fire-boat', in Bombay Hindusthani), *ṭhaṇḍā tār* and *garm tār* ('positive' and 'negative wire'), *hawā-gāṛī* ('motor car'), *sēwā-dal* ('Band of Help'—volunteers in social service), *jādū-ghar* ('museum'), *bijlī-battī* ('electric light'), *hāth-ghaṛī* ('wrist-watch'), *sōs-kāgaz* ('blotting-paper', in Bengal), *cīr-phāṛ* ('operation'), *garmī-nāp* ('thermometer'), *dēś-sēwak* ('patriot') *bālak-car* ('boy scout'),*jaṅgī-lāṭ* ('commander-in-chief'), *kisān-saṅgh, mazdūr-saṅgh* ('farmers', labourers' union'), *bē-tār* ('wire-less'), *cīṛiyā-khānā* ('aviary, zoo'), *tezī-mandī* ('briskness and dullness of the market'), etc., etc. We cannot get any real help from the Hindusthani of the masses, to settle the problem of the higher culture words, and that of the script,—problems which form the bone of contention among the advocates of High-Hindi and those of Urdu. But for the simple, unsophisticated things of life, Hindusthani of the masses may give points to the literary languages, High-Hindi and Urdu.

Some scholars have taken upon themselves to exploit to the fullest the possibilities of the fundamental speech that is at the basis of High-Hindi and Urdu. They would advocate only pure Hindi or Hindusthani words—such as have been inherited by Hindusthani from Prakrit—to the exclusion of both Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit borrowings. Thus, according to this view, people should use a form like the native Hindusthani *mīṭhā* 'sweet', and not the Persian *śīrīn* or the Sanskrit *miṣṭ* or *sumiṣṭ; man-māṅgā* 'desired', rather than *ipsit, prārthit* or *icchit* (Sanskrit) or *xvāsta* (Persian); *lājwantī* 'modest' rather than *lajjā-śīlā* (Sanskrit) or *śarminda* (Persian). Insha-allah Khan author of the *Kahānī*

Ṭhēṭh Hindī-mẽ (c. 1850), and Hari Audh (Ayōdhyā Singh Upādhyāy) author of the *Ṭhēṭh Hindī-kā Ṭhāṭh* (1899) and the *'Adh-khilā Phūl* (1905), wrote their works in this kind of an 'idealised' Hindusthani, without any word borrowed from Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic, with pure native Hindusthani words derived from Prakrit. But these are *tours-de-force* which cannot be applied to a great language which has been borrowing from both native (Sanskrit) and foreign (Perso-Arabic, and English) sources for so many centuries. So here we do not find any compromise, any solution, that the Colloquial Hindi (Hindustani or Hindusthani) of the masses can offer. In the matter of script also, there is no help.

Popular or Folk Hindi (Hindusthani) of Northern India has brought in another element of controversy, which so far has not come to any prominence, but which is bound to come up sooner or later. In addition to the questions of *Culture Words* and of *Script,* which two alone are now looming large in the Hindi-Urdu controversy, Colloquial Hindusthani has brought in the equally great, perhaps the far greater question of *Grammar.* Literary Hindusthani, itself based on a Colloquial dialect, or dialects, shows a grammar which for those who do not belong to the 'Home Districts' of Hindi (Hindusthani)–roughly, Western United Provinces and Eastern Panjab tracts–appears to be quite complicated and difficult. Among the speakers of the Eastern Hindi dialects, of the Bihari dialects, of Bengali, Assamese and Oriya, of Gorkhali, of the Dravidian languages, and also of Marathi, and even of Rajasthani, Gujarati, Sindhi, and Eastern and Western Panjabi, some of the prominent grammatical features of Hindi (Hindusthani) have been considerably simplified when Hindi (Hindusthani) is spoken by them–in some cases these have been entirely done away with. The result has been, that side by side with literary Hindi and Urdu, and the various kinds of tolerably correct or grammatical Hindusthani spoken by the masses in the 'Home Districts' of Hindi (in western United Provinces and Eastern Panjab), there is another kind of Hindusthani, a Hindusthani of a Simplified Grammar, a Colloquial Hindusthani of the street and the market, of the workshop

and the godown, of the army and the ship-yard, which is habitually spoken all over India, outside of the native Hindi or Hindusthani area. This has been noted once before in the first lecture, and I shall have occasion to refer to it again. Over 200 millions of the 245 who speak or use Hindi (Hindusthani) speak this Simplified Hindusthani; and for them, the learning of Literary Hindusthani with its characteristic grammar, is a difficult process,—even the most intelligent of them do not often find it an easy thing.

A vital question emerges: should this simplified language, in use in their public or business life among 200 millions, when it has been simplified without any loss of its vigour or expressiveness, prevail; or should the home language of less than 45 (probably not even 30) millions, be allowed to dominate the field and to try to impose its complications upon all and sundry? Hindi (Hindusthani) has been handed over to the entire Indian people by a comparatively small group in the "Midland" :—and the Indian people have responded by accepting the gift; but, suitably to their requirements, they have modified it, without making it lose its essential character. Should not these modifications—if they are found to be in the interest of the Indian people, and if they make for simplicity and ease without impairment of intelligibility, conducing to utility without loss of the qualities of strength and beauty,—should not these be accepted?

The genesis and development of the Hindi-Urdu conflict would be an interesting thing to study, but the present occasion is hardly suitable for that. The well-documented papers and books by Mr. Chandrabalī Pāṇḍē, M.A. (e.g. *Bihār-mẽ Hindūstānī*, Samvat 1996; *Kacaharī-kī Bhāṣā aur Lipi*, Samvat 1996; *Urdū-kā Rahasya*, Samvat 1997); by Shāh Sāhib Nāsiruddīnpūrī (*Mulk-kī Zabān aur Fāẓil Musalmān*, Samvat 1997; all these published from the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā*, Benares); by Venkaṭēsh Nārāyaṇ Tiwārī (*Hindī banām Urdū*, 1938, Allahabad); and by others, will give a sufficient indication of that. Suffice it to say that the germs of this controversy were there in the con-

scious or unconscious attempt on the part of Muhammadan speakers of Early Hindi to write the language in the Perso-Arabic character from the 16th century. A language and literature, which gradually came to base itself upon an ideology which denied on the soil of India the very existence of India and Indian culture, could not but be met with a challenge from the sons of India, adherents of their national culture; and that challenge was in the form of a highly Sanskritised Hindi. Urdu, besides, came to be based upon the memories of the decay of a great glory—with the downward progress of the Muhammadan power in India in the 18th and 19th centuries, and with the hope of a resurrected Muhammadan power in India restored to its old position in the scheme of things as in 16th or 17th century India. As such, it was natural for many Indian Muslims, particularly those who considered themselves as the inheritors of an unfulfilled destiny, to cling to it with a patriotic passion and a religious fervour. Added to it, there is the fear among a certain section of Indian Musalmans of being swamped by the superior numbers of the Hindus, should the Hindus begin to assert their culture and be aggressive about it. Reconversion to Hinduism (*Śuddhi*), Hindu Reorganisation (*Saṅgaṭhan*), and Preaching of Hindu Solidarity, and particularly the strong and determined attitude in certain matters taken by Hindu revivalist groups like the Ārya-Samāj and the Hindu Mission, are looked upon with apprehension as new signs of this assertion and possible aggression. Then the sordidness of the present-day Indian politics, specially the imperialist policy of *divide et impera*, has been injecting constantly and continuously the poison of this sectarian or religious jealousy and hatred into the Indian body-politic; and a false sense of values in national life, putting religion before race and culture and economics, has now combined with grab for power, pelf and privilege, and is making a literary and stylistic problem into a national problem of the first rank. Statesmanship, Tact, and above all Education in the modern sense of the term, divorced from all religion which mingles politics with itself and is intolerant of other kinds of religious opinion, as well as Freedom from the intrigues of an interested imperialism,

are the only means towards a successful elimination of this canker in Indian life.

It is time that our linguisticians and public men who understand the implications discussed seriously the three-fold problem of Hindi or Hindusthani, the National Language of India, in relation to its Vocabulary, its Script and its Grammar.

LECTURE IV

THE PROBLEMS OF HINDI (HINDUSTHANI), AND THE SOLUTIONS SUGGESTED.

The Varieties of Hindi (Hindusthani) at the present day which have given rise to the Problems of Hindi – (1) Sanskritic Hindi, (2) Perso-Arabic Hindi or Urdu, (3) Bāzār Hindusthani – Drawbacks of Hindi – Not a Culture Language for Speakers of other Languages in any of its Forms—How far High-Hindi and Urdu serve other Peoples of India – English the Real Culture Language of India – Hindi as the Symbol of a United India – 'Non-Hindi' Tracts and the Evolution of Hindi – the Problem with the 'Hindusthani People' – Difference of Religion brought to bear upon Language—Duality of Language in Education, in Public Life – the Pan-Indian Aspect of the Problem – Hindi an already existent *Umgangssprache* and *Verkehrssprache*—the Problem Three-fold in Nature—of the Script, of Culture Words, and of Grammar—the Problem of the Script – the Deva-nagari Script, its Importance – Deva-nagari vs. Perso-Arabic as Scripts linking India with the outside World—the Position of the Arabic Script assailed elsewhere —in Indonesia, in Turkey, in Africa, in Soviet Russia—the Situation in Iran – the Principle underlying the Arabic Script—its Defects – Imperfections of the Arabic Script illustrated—it cannot be a National Script for India – the Roman Alphabet – Roman vs. Deva-nagari—the *pros* and *cons* – Defects of the Deva-nagari when compared with the Roman – Analysis of Words – in their Formal Elements and in their Phonetic Elements – the Indian (Deva-nagari) Order and the Roman Shapes of Letters – a proposed Indo-Roman Script for India—Adoption of Indo-Roman for Hindi (and other Indian Languages) suggested – A Transitional Stage of *Bilitteralism* when Two Scripts (the Roman and the Indian) will be used side by side—International Character of the Roman Script—Roman Hindusthani may be employed side by side with Deva-nagari High-Hindi and Perso-Arabic Urdu – the Claims of Deva-nagari Supreme over all other Scripts in India so long as the Roman is not adopted—Script and Vocabulary

help to determine the Character of the Speech and its Culture—Isolated Character of Perso-Arabic Urdu, the Creation of the Muslim Aristocracy of decadant Mogul India—the Spell of Hindu Hindi on this Muslim Aristocracy—Exotic and Un-Indian Character of Urdu Language and Literature—the Introduction into Indian Literature of the 'Matter of Persia and Arabia'—Iranian Romance and Islamic and other Arab Legends and Stories into India through Urdu Literature—Urdu as the 'Islamic' Language of Modern India—still a Class-Dialect—Urdu cut off from the Base of Indian Speech, Sanskrit—Persianisation of Urdu—'Building' Languages and 'Borrowing' Languages—Latin and the Romance Languages, and Sanskrit and the Languages of India—the extremely narrow and anti-Indian Mentality of some Makers of Urdu—Influence of Persianised Urdu on the Wane in the U. P.—Persian Legends on Indian Coins—the Proposed Compromise-Speech, 'Hindustani', as advocated by the Indian National Congress—Support for Persianised Urdu—the Result—the All India Radio and the Hindi-Urdu Problem—Perso-Arabic Culture Words vs. Indian Nationalism—Arabic and other 'Islamic' Languages like Turkish and Persian—Indian Nationalism and the Inevitable Change in the Attitude towards Sanskrit among Indian Muslims—the Early Urdu Poet Nāzir and his Vocabulary—the Place of Sanskrit in Indian (Hindu) Culture and History—the suggestion to retain and re-establish Sanskrit as the *Lingua Franca* of India, at least among Hindus—Persianised Urdu and Sanskritic Hindi, and the Bearing of this Question on Bengali and other Languages not Persianised like Urdu—the Culture Words of Hindi as the National Language of India must be from Sanskrit mainly—Common Naturalised Words of Perso-Arabic Origin in Hindi to be retained—Words relating to Islamic Religion and Culture to be from Perso-Arabic in this National Hindi Language—the Futility of an Artificial Blend of Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit in Hindi—a Perso-Arabic Element may be a Reserve Store of Strength for Stylistic Embellishment in Hindi—Concrete Suggestions for Script and Vocabulary—the Question of the Grammar of Hindi (Hindusthani) and its Simplification—Such Simplification both Necessary and Practicable—'Bāzār Hindī' Grammar with its Abandonment of (i) Inflected Plural Forms, (2) the Oblique Singular Form of the Noun, (3) Grammatical Gender in the Genitive, the Adjective and the Verb, (4) Different Forms for the Various Persons and Tenses in the Verb, and (5) of the Passive Construction for the Verb Transitive in the Past Tense—

This will be only a Formal Acceptance of a Wide Practice—will make Hindi (Hindusthani) easier to acquire for the People of the Whole of India—the Universal Acceptability of a Simplified Hindi—Recapitulation and Conclusion.

We have so far seen the position of Hindi (Hindusthani) among Indian Languages, and how far this position is the result of historical factors. We now proceed to discuss what are the real problems of Hindusthani, how they affect not only those who have High-Hindi and Urdu for their 'vernaculars', but also others who acknowledge allegiance to other languages as their mother-tongues, and how again these problems can be solved. Leaving aside the dialects and the different languages which have come under the tutelage of Hindusthani (High-Hindi or Urdu) and the speakers of which think themselves rightly or wrongly to be the users at home of what are loosely described as 'dialects of Hindi', we have at the present moment three forms of Hindusthani in which the average man and woman in Modern India would be interested:

(1) Sanskritic Hindi in Dēva-nāgarī characters, which uses to the fullest the resources of the Sanskrit dictionary for the replenishment of Hindi, and yet keeps a respectable number of Perso-Arabic words.

(2) Perso-Arabic Hindi written in the Perso-Arabic alphabet, employing by preference Persian and Arabic words and having few or no Sanskrit words—a language which is frankly Muhammadan and extra-Indian in its inspiration and attitude.

(3) 'Bāzār Hindi' or 'Bāzār Hindusthani'—a language with the grammar of correct Hindusthani which is found in (1) & (2), considerably simplified,—in common use among the masses (the speakers in the native Hindusthani or Western Hindi tracts employing it in a more correct form than elsewhere), with a vocabulary the character of which is not clearly indicated, using Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic and other foreign words and native *tadbhava* creations. The limited nature of its vocabulary is the result of its being a language for elementary communication only.

Hindusthani, in any of the above three forms, is emphatically not a culture speech for a Bengali, and Oriya, an Assamese or a Gujarati, a Maratha, a Tamil or a Kannada. No Bengali or Maratha feels that he can get a higher culture which is closed to him in his own mother-tongue through either High-Hindi or Urdu–and much less through this 'Bāzār Hindi'. No one can at the present moment dream or giving High-Hindi or Urdu a status comparable, for instance, with that of English. Those who use High-Hindi and Urdu at the present day as their literary language cannot claim any cultural or intellectual superiority over others using in a similar manner Bengali or Gujarati, Panjabi or Oriya, Tamil or Telugu, Kannada or Marathi. The political domination of Urdu-using Muhammadans in Hyderabad-Deccan over Telugus and Marathas is not the result of any intellectual or cultural superiority on the part of the rulers: the extent and quality of Urdu literature, no one would dare suggest are in any way superior to those of Marathi and Telugu literatures, and nor can it be opined that as a language (except that in various modified forms it is current over a wide area) Urdu is superior to Marathi and Telugu in power and expressiveness, in sweetness and sonority. Comparisons in a case like this would be odious. High-Hindi and Urdu are all right for those who find in them the only means for obtaining information or pleasure or spiritual exaltation; even some Hindus with backward languages, and many Muhammadans speaking other languages, many find in these two forms of the Hindi (Hindusthani) language an instrument for higher culture in directions not fully developed in their own languages: e.g. Gujarati, Sindhi, Kashmiri, Afghan and Bengali Musalmans may feel that Urdu is the Islamic language *par excellence* in India, and that its extensive literature on specially Muhammadan subjects being unobtainable in any other Indian language it should be the ideal of every Indian Musalman to learn Urdu, if only to have access to this literature; some Sindhi and Panjabi and Nepali Hindus may similarly like to acquire Nagari-Hindi to read Tulasīdāsa's Rāmāyaṇa and the many translations from Sanskrit and other works relating to Hindu

religion; and North Indian singers—*Kalāwants*—from Panjab to Assam and from Kashmir to Mahārāshṭra may sing Braj-bhākhā songs in the *Dhrūpad* or *Khyāl* style or Urdu *Ghazals* or *Marsiyas* or *Qawwālīs*. Far from being in a position to assume the *rôle* of a culture language in other provinces, neither High-Hindi nor Urdu is as yet capable of supplying any superior type of mental food (excepting some devotional exaltation) to the people in their own areas, so much so that a suggestion to abandon or even restrict the study of English in favour of Urdu and High-Hindi would be looked upon with disfavour by the majority of people, who would think that such a measure would be sure to bring down the cultural level. So when the question of Urdu or Hindustani (Hindusthani) or Hindi for the whole of India is trotted out, and fervent exhortations are made in the name of the political unity of India for voluntary admission into 'Hindi' or 'Hindustani' classes, and even when compulsory 'Hindustani' (High-Hindi or Urdu) is forced upon the people by either the Congress government or the Muslim-ruled states, we should pause, and ask: "Sentiment apart, is it worth it?" Outside of the small circles of the elect, who have acquired a proper knowledge of one or both the literary forms of Hindusthani, large numbers of people may not feel convinced about the necessity of Hindusthani (or for the matter of that any other Indian language) as an immediate problem of first-rate importance; and this attitude should be understood, and sought to be won over by argument and sweet-reasonableness. The fact that the Hindusthani speech in either of its forms High-Hindi and Urdu not being a culture language which can be recommended for the whole of India, forms a very serious draw-back for it, in obtaining the spontaneous and convinced homage and support of the entire people as a Pan-Indian proposition. Nevertheless, sentiments go strong in India (as in many other countries), and the very strong nationalistic feeling aided by propaganda for the last twenty years has made these sentiments stronger still: a United India must have an Indian language as its National Speech, as the Symbol of its being One Country; and Hindusthani (or

Hindi) alone can be such a language.

If Hindusthani were one single and undivided speech, the chances of its success would have been overwhelming for the whole of India. But unfortunately for it, and for India too, it is not so. Moreover, there is a good deal of complexity in its grammar—a protest against which complexity is always being made by the common employment of the ungrammatical *Bāzār* Hindusthani. When it is decided once for all which form of Hindusthani is to be universally accepted, the rest of India will be freed from its bewilderment, and groups or individuals will then be in a position to decide how far the form decided upon is acceptable by them. But this decision, in so far as it affects so many millions outside of the "home tracts" of Hindusthani, is not to be made only by the natural custodians of the Hindusthani speech itself, namely, those who are already in the habit of using High-Hindi or Urdu in the school, in literature, and in social and public life, even if not in the family circle. The other provinces or tracts of India which are to take up this Hindusthani as a subsidiary speech should also have their say in it.

The situation with regard to those who for convenience may be described as the "Hindusthani people"—meaning the people of the U.P., Bihar, a good deal of the Panjab, Rajputana, Central India Agency, and of parts of the Central Provinces, who use High-Hindi and Urdu as literary languages—is quite different. Here it is not the question of another fresh language (a nearly related and comparatively easily understood speech for the Aryan-speaking peoples, and quite a foreign language for Dravidian, Austric and Tibeto-Chinese speakers) being added to the curriculum or taken up for serious study during spare hours (which, however, is quite a different proposition from acquiring it just like an experience in life, as a matter of course); but the question is of the same language being split up into two, making clumsy duplication necessary in many matters, and not only wasting the people's time, energy and resources but leading to ill-feeling and struggle for supremacy, and jealousy of the other side's advance. For a Bengali or a

Gujarati, a Tamilian or Mahārāshṭrī, the problem of Hindusthani is rather remote; for a Bihari or a U.P. person it is a domestic problem of a very vital character. For practical purposes, it amounts to a difference in religion as expressed in language, creating a rift between two sections of the same people in all the wakes of life. This appears to be becoming wider and wider every day, and it is menacing, in alliance with other factors, to make organised and civilised life impossible over a great part of the country. This rift must be closed up as quickly as possible; and, as many among Hindu nationalists would appear to think, it should be closed at all costs. Otherwise most of the vital nation-building activities will be brought to nought, beginning with education. Education to be spread among the people should be imparted through the medium of the mother-tongue. If High-Hindi and Urdu are to remain separate and unreconciled, there must be provision for two mother-tongues in all spheres of education—the primary, the secondary and high school stages and in the universities, for it is comtemplated to vernacularise education upto the advanced college stage as quickly as possible. Everywhere in government and municipal administration, both the languages—Perso-Arabic Urdu and Sanskritic Hindi in two vitally different scripts—are to feature, as they are doing now.

The problem in its vital points must be solved in the first instance by the "Hindusthani people" themselves; no other province will be able to work it out for them. But its implications and its ramifications are far-flung, and they have some bearing or other on the speakers of other Indian languages as well. The student of language may offer some suggestions in this connexion for what they are worth: and these are offered here in the spirit of a linguistician who takes note of what has happened and is happening, not only in our own country but in some other lands also.

I do not want to bring in the fundamental question whether there is at all any need for an Indian language to be recommended for universal acquirement in India as a National Language. I assume that there is a wide-spread desire for such a

National Language, and more than that, I take this gre... ..... into consideration, that there already does exist, in popular or *Bāzār* Hindusthani, a great *Umgangssprache* or 'Circuit Language', current over a wide tract, or a *Verkehrssprache* or 'Language or Intercourse', though *not* a *Kultursprache* or 'Culture Language', which is the nearest approach to a National Language that Modern India possesses. I would not suggest that this language is to be taken up at the expense of English, which with its international implications presents for us the only window for air and light, for science and letters to come from outside. The need for a national language for the whole of India is neither immediate nor urgent, however important may be the need for the solution of the Hindi-Urdu problem for "Hindusthani India". It is even now a matter of academic interest, although the Hindi-Urdu split is causing us a good deal of inconvenience, even retrogression.

The problem of Hindusthani is three-fold : (1) the Problem of Script, (2) the Problem of the Higher Cultural Vocabulary, and (3) the Problem of Grammar. The third is generally ignored : yet it is quite an important factor in the language. The first two are absorbing most of our attention. The Problem of Vocabulary would be of secondary importance, if High-Hindi and Urdu were written languages confined to books only and had no occasion to be employed in public discourse, e.g. in the Radio and the Talkie, which, as modern amenities, have within the last few months, not even years, brought the matter to an acute stage, supplying fresh material for controversy.

Hindusthani (Hindi) is now written in three scripts—the Dēva-nāgarī (High-Hindi), the Perso-Arabic (Urdu), and the Roman (Urdu)—the last to a very limited extent only. Of these, the Deva-nagari alone has claims of a nature not possessed by the other two scripts. Hindusthani was born in the bosom of this script, so to say : the script (in its earlier forms, of course) is older than the language, and has never been divorced from it. Even Musalman Hindusthani or Urdu has frequently been written in Deva-nagari in spite of its large foreign elements—to a wider extent than Sanskritic Hindi has been written in the Per-

sian script, e.g. in Early Dakni writers, in some Hindi verses on old miniatures, and in recent Ārya Samāj tracts and propaganda literature meant for Hindu readers in the Panjab and elsewhere who do not read any other script except the Urdu. The Deva-nagari script, again, has certain other advantages, in addition to its historical position. It is connected with the other provincial Indian scripts as sisters and cousins. Bengali-Assamese, Maithili, Oriya, Gurumukhi and Deva-nagari are so closely related to each other, and resemble each other so very much, that they may be looked upon as different styles of the same script—e.g. the Roman and Black Letter versions of the same Latin alphabet. The South Indian scripts Telugu-Kannaḍa and Grantha-Tamil-Mālayāḷam , as well as Sinhalese, are similar, and follow the same principle. Thus, with the exception of the Urdu alphabet among North Indian Muhammadans, the community of script (in the underlying principle of formation, rather than in the actual shapes of the letters) throughout the whole of India is maintained by the Deva-nagari script–and the Perso-Arabic script comes in here as an alien force disrupting this community. In any other country, this alone should be a sufficient disqualification for the Perso-Arabic script, to aspire to the position of a National Script, when so many millions of Bengalis, Assamese, Oriyas, Panjabis (Sikhs), Gujaratis, Marathis, Telugus, Kannadis, Tamils, Mālayālīs and others are ranged on one side with Deva-nagari (and Mahājanī and Kāyathī)-using Hindus in Rajputana, U.P. and Bihar forming over 85% of the population of these three tracts. Then again, through the Deva-nagari alphabet and its inherent principle we are linked up with Buddhist Tibet, with Buddhist Burma, with Buddhist Siam and Cambodia, and with Muhammadan Java, and with some of the Indonesian Islands, where alphabets of Indian origin are employed. Against this it may be urged that the Perso-Arabic script for an Indian language will be a link with the Western Muhammadan World—with Persia, with Afghanistan, and with the Arab countries of the West—Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt; and with the states of Northern Africa under the European powers, with the Muhammadan world of Malaysia, as

also with the Negro peoples of Central and West Africa some of whom have accepted the Arabic script with Islam. But this link will be essentially a link based on the Muhammadan religion, for which the major community in India cannot be expected to feel enthusiastic, although it is always sympathetic. Moreover, the position of the Arabic script itself has been assailed both in the West and the East. Most African languages are written also in Roman : the Arabic script has not been able to oust the Roman, and the Roman alphabet is proving stronger there every year. Turkish has abandoned the Arabic script, and has already in a decade adopted and naturalised the Roman, modified in some of its letters to suit its own phonetic character. The Turki languages of Soviet Russia similarly abandoned the Arabic script and adopted the Roman and the Cyrillic (Russian). Iran is just now at cross-ways : there is a definite movement against the Arabic script, as with most things of Arab origin—the Arabic vocabulary of the Persian language included ; and Iranian patriots are as yet undecided whether to adopt the Roman script for their language or to revive the old Avestan. The latter is being used to a limited extent for decorative purposes, in titles of books etc. ; and European musical notation which goes like European writing from left to right is proving to be a great ally for the Roman script in Persia. Thus the Romanisation of the Persian language, with the example of the Turki peoples in Turkey and in Soviet Russia, is within the range of immediate probability. So the Perso-Arabic script does not seem to possess the strength it once had in the Islamic lands of the West. In Malaysia, the Malay language is very widely written and printed in the Roman character. Non-Malay i.e. non-Muhammadan inhabitants of British Malaya, including the Chinese and the Indians who together number more than the Malays, use only Roman Malay. In the Dutch possessions, it is everywhere Roman Malay, with the Dutch values of the letters. These facts do take away a great deal from the international, even pan-Islamic, value of the Arabic script.

The principle underlying the formation of the Arabic script supplies a very grave objection to it. The Arabic alphabet is

based ultimately on the Phoenician, like the ancient Greek script, the mother of Roman and other European alphabets. The Phoenician alphabet was built up to meet the needs of the Phoenician language. Those who framed this script had arrived at some definite notion of the nature of the Semitic speech—of its triliteral roots, of its peculiar sounds like the glottal stop (the *hamza* of Arabic) which was isolated in its proper character as a consonant sound, and of the pharyngal spirant sounds the voiceless *ḥ* (= ح) and voiced (*'ayn'* ع), and they had decided to ignore short vowels in the system of script they evolved. When the Greeks adopted this script for their own needs, they did not omit the vowel sounds, but restricted the use of some of the old consonant letters for vowels, and in this way the Greeks with a marvellous stroke of genius, or as the result of an accident, formed the first real alphabet in the world. But the old Phoenician principle of not representing vowels was continued through various alphabets for the Semitic speeches of Syria and North Arabia, from one of which what may be called the Early *Kufic,* the proto-Arabic script, was evolved in the 5th century A.D., to be modified into the finished Kufic of the 7th and 8th century; and this, with new devices like dots to indicate special consonants, and vowel-points, developed into the *Naskhi* Arabic script of the 12th century, and *Nasta'līq* Persian script of the 14th. The vowel marks continued to be secondary. Persia abandoned its full alphabet of Avestan, and the rather ambiguous and cumbersome Pahlavi, and took up the Arabic script after the Arab conquest in the 7th century, using vowel points only sparingly. In India this Perso-Arabic script as used for Persian was bodily taken over for Hindi or Hindusthani, probably in the 16th century in the Deccan (barring occasional fragments of Hindi which are to be found in Persian histories and other works on India, which have been collected by Dr. Grahame Bailey from Urdu sources in his paper on 'Early Urdu Conversation' in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London, Vol. VI, Part I, 1930, pp. 205-208). It took about 150 years for the present-day Urdu script to evolve

from the Perso-Arabic, with fixed letters for *c, g, ḍ, ṭ, ṛ* and with combinations with *h* for the aspirates *kh, gh, ch, jh, ṭh, ḍh, th, dh, ph, bh,* and *nh, mh* ; in the 16th-18th centuries there was no fixity in these matters.

There are several drawbacks of the Perso-Arabic script: (1) Absence of vowel marks, and a very clumsy way of denoting long vowels and diphthongs—one *y* doing duty for *y, ai, ī, ē,* and one *w* for *w* or *v, au, ū* and *ō*. This means that one must know the language, and know it well, before one can read a page of Urdu (or Persian) fluently, although he may know all the letters. (2) Use of dots—*nuqtas*—as forming the most important part of consonant letters: e.g. a dot below a slightly curved horizontal line means a *b,* two dots below mean *y* (and *ai, ē, ī*), two dots above mean *t,* three dots above *s* (< *θ*), a highly curved line or semi-circle with one dot above or in the middle is *n,* etc.: these dots are tiresome for the eyes, and frequently in quick writing they are curtailed. (3) Use of contracted forms of certain letters in an initial and medial position, and of frequent ligatures. In quick writing, Perso-Arabic becomes like modern shorthand script. A sentence in Hindusthani or any other language can of course be written very quickly in this script, but it would be difficult for one who is not an expert in the language to read correctly and with ease such writing.

Following a rigid transcription of the Perso-Arabic script, in which the inverted comma facing left ['] is used for the *alif* or *alif-hamza,* the nature of employment of this script for a language like Hindi (Hindusthani) and Persian can thus be indicated by means of the Roman alphabet (of course, the nature of the contractions and the ligatures cannot be indicated in this transcript):

(i) *yah rasanā bas rakhō, dharō garībī bēś,*
śītal bōlī lē kar calō, sabhī tumhārā dēś.

('Keep this tongue in check, put on a poor man's attire,-move with kind words, and every land will be your home-land').

=*yh rsn' bs rkhw dhrw ɣryby byš,*
šytl bwly lykr elw, sbhy tmh'r' dyš.

(ii) *bijurī cawākai, mēhā garajai, larajai mērau jiyarā,*
pūraba pachawā pauna calatu hai, kaisē bārau̠ diyarā.

('The lightning flashes, the cloud rumbles, and my heart trembles: East and West the wind is blowing: how can I light the lamp?')

= *bjry cwnky myh' grjy lrzy myrw jyr'*
pwrb pchw' pwn clt hy, kysy b'rwn dyr'.

(iii) *agar ān turk-i-širāzī ba-dast ārad dil-i-mā-rā,*
ba-xāl-i-hindavaš baxšam Samarqand-u-Buxārā-rā.

('If that Turk, the cruel one, of Shiraz were to take my heart in her hand, for the black mole on her cheek I would grant Samarqand and Bokhara!')

= *gr 'n trk šr'zy bdst 'rd dl m'r'*
bx'l hndwš bxšm smrqnd w bx'r'r'.

(iv) *parda-dārī mī-kunad dar qaṣr-i-qaiṣar 'ankabūt,*
būm naubat mī-zanad dar gumbaz-i-Afrāsiyāb.

('The spider acts as the curtain-bearer in the castle of Caesar; the owl strikes the kettle-drum in the turret of Afrāsiyāb').

= *prdhd'ry myknd dr qṣr qyṣr 'nkbwt*
bwm nwbt myznd dr gnbδ 'fr'sy'b.

In this system, English words like *band, bend, bind, bond, bund,* would all be spelt *bnd,* Early Persian *šīr* 'milk' and *šēr* 'lion' would both be *šyr,* etc. Compared with an alphabet of this kind, the Roman script is clarity itself, and the Deva-nagari and other Indian systems of writing, although the shapes of their letters are rather complicated when compared with Perso-Arabic, are precise and unambiguous, leaving nothing to be desired for the correct symbolisation of the sounds of the word. It will not be any advantage to have the Perso-Arabic script for Hindusthani: it has nothing to recommend it, unless it were only Musalman sentiment for it—and that too is a sentiment based on a narrow and uninformed religious outlook. Out of respect for this sentiment, its continuance in contexts which are specifically Islamic are certainly to be allowed: but its imposition on the entire body-politic in India not swayed

by this sentiment would be injustifiable, and unthinkable. The Perso-Arabic script even with proposed "reformations" thus appears to have no chance and no claim to be recognised as *a*, much less as *the* National Script of India.

Now remain the Deva-nagari, and the Roman, to dispute for the position. Before Deva-nagari, with its hoary lineage going back through the Brahmi possibly to the script of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, its long association with our civilisation and our history in the successive ages,—it being naturally and easily the representative National Script of India,—and its own intrinsic merits which cannot be denied, the Roman script would appear, so far as India and Indian sentiment are concerned, a new-comer and a *parvenu*, and a sorry one at that, when we consider its imperfections in its application to English. In spite of all that can be said in favour of the Deva-nagari and against the Roman, however, I am convinced of the suitability of a re-arranged and modified Roman alphabet for our Indian languages, including of course Hindusthani. My study of the question of "a Roman Alphabet for India" I have given in full in a paper published in the *Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVII, 1935, pp. 1-58, and I do not want to repeat my arguments. The Indian system of writing is superior to all other systems in the scientific order followed in the arrangement of the letters; the Roman alphabet, in the comparative simplicity of the shapes of its letters. The Deva-nagari is at a disadvantage when we take into note the comparative intricacy or complexity of its letters, the use of conjunct consonants, and the syllabic and not purely alphabetical character of the writing. Compare the letters of the Deva-nagari and of the other Modern Indian Alphabets with, for example, the Brahmi letters of ancient India, with the Greek or Roman letters: the difference is patent at the first glance. Then the conjunct consonants, and the post-scribed forms of the vowel letters: we are forced to add a number of complex characters to the alphabet by the occurrence of these conjuncts, although generally the component elements are discernible in their fragmentary forms. But for the vowels, a double set, that

of the subscribed or superscribed forms, has to be acquired, and this is a superfluity which might advantageously be omitted. Then, again, the practice of tagging vowel symbols to the consonants has made the syllable (consisting of one or more consonants *plus* a vowel) the element in writing, and not single independent letters each representing a single vowel or a single consonant sound—as, for instance, in the Roman alphabet. In practice, the Perso-Arabic script also is syllabic, only the vowel element in this script is usually understood—usually it is implied and not properly indicated.

An analysis of words in a language like Tamil, Sanskrit or Hindi, Bengali or Marathi can be from two aspects—analysis of functional elements, and analysis of phonetic elements. The former is based on etymology—on morphology; the latter on phonetics. Thus the functional analysis of a Marathi verb form like *pāhijē* 'is wanted' would be into the root *pāh*+the passive present affix *-ij-* +third personal affix *-ē*; its phonetic analysis would be into the syllables *pā-hi-jē* and further into the component vowel and consonant sounds *p-ā-h-i-j-ē*. So Bengali *rākhilām* 'I kept' can be analysed functionally as *rākh*+*-il-*+ *-ām*, or phonetically as *rā-khi-lām, r-ā-kh-i-l-ā-m*. In spite of the very thorough knowledge of phonetics in Ancient India, the phonetic analysis underlying the Brahmi alphabet took its stand, so far as the actual indication of sounds in the written word was concerned, upon the syllabic analysis only, and not upon the extreme analysis (which nevertheless was fully understood in ancient India) into individual sounds. A combination of the good points of the two systems the Roman and the Indian would give an ideal alphabet. I proposed to have such a Roman-Indian, or Indo-Roman alphabet, with no new dotted or capped letter, but with some movable signs (*sūcaka* or *'alāmāt*, 'indicators') to be put before or after the original letters to denote certain special sounds in Indian languages not provided for in the ordinary Roman script. Thus, vowel-length can be shown not by letters with the macron or length-mark on the top, necessitating new types (e.g. ā, ē, ī, ō, ū), but by putting two dots after the ordinary vowel letter (e.g. a:, e:, i:, o:,

u:); cerebrals need not be indicated with special dotted types (e.g. ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, ṛ, ḷ), but by ordinary (t, d, n, r, l) with an inverted comma after (t', d', n', r', l'); etc. At present to print in Deva-nagari considerably over 400 special types are required: with this Indo-Roman, some 50 in all would suffice. With the moveable *indicators* added to the letters, it will be possible to print all Indian languages accurately with the existing types required in printing in the English language: no special letter will be needed. The reduction in the cost of printing, and the advantage for the spread of literacy can be surmised from the above. The Roman letters are to be arranged in the Indian order—following the Sanskrit alphabet—in the following way: a a:, i i:, u u:, r· r:, l·, e: (e), o: (o), ai au, am· ah·; k kh g gh n· ; c ch j jh n′; t' t'h d' d'h n'; t th d dh n; p ph b bh m; y, r, l, w (v); s′ s' s h; l'; *n* (nasalisation); f, z, z′, x, q, etc. (for foreign sounds).

And they are to retain their Indian names, like *ka, kha, ga, gha,* etc. (and the aspirates can be described as *prāṇa-yukta ka=kha,* etc.). In this way we can have a system of writing much better than any in existence. (The use of this kind of Indo-Roman alphabet is exemplified in the *Appendix* at the end of this Lecture).

Now, I suggest that the conflict of scripts for Hindusthani may be solved by the adoption of the Roman script. Apart from the settling of the controversy, there would be many advantages in this. Convenience in printing, and assistance in the spread of literacy, are two of the noteworthy gains, and they are not to be waived aside lightly. The only objection that can be urged against an Indo-Roman script would be our natural sentiment in favour of the national script, ancient, well-conceived and fully tried. Sentiments are not negligible factors in life, but the manifest advantages should outweigh sentimental misgivings, especially when we may have to make virtue of necessity in solving the conflict of scripts in our country.

The Indo-Roman script in the first instance is not to be applied to all languages in India—although that in my opinion will be the desideratum, and, as far as I can see, it is bound to

come, sooner or later. That will be after a generation or two of *bilitteralism*, when both the original script and the Roman would be in use side by side; and then people would gradually become convinced of the comparative superiority of the Indo-Roman. Hindusthani, in the modified form I propose that it should be adopted, written in the Indo-Roman character, would give for Modern India its most suitable national language. The Roman script now transcends the limitations of the ancient town of Rome where it was characterised, or of Italy, or of the Western world. It has become an instrument of civilisation as the most widely used and the most convenient method of representing sounds,—almost like the discoveries and inventions of modern science, like some modern instruments. When a thing has become truly international, there cannot be any national shame in accepting it, if we do it of our own accord, finding it convenient, and modifying it to suit our special needs.

This is the solution I suggest for the question of script. For public and political purposes, for all such occasions where a 'national language' is required to be employed beside English, we can have this Roman Hindusthani. The "Hindusthani people", according to their taste, their religion or their associations, will continue, for a time (or for all time), to use High-Hindi and Urdu in the Deva-nagari and Perso-Arabic characters as now. But the controversy can be set at rest by a powerful body like the Indian National Congress modifying its declaration along the following lines: "The National Language of the United States of India shall be a Basic or Simplified Hindi (or Hindusthani), which is to be written in the Roman character." And the solution of the Script will be the first step towards the solution of the other question of the Vocabulary.

In this connexion, I might also state my considered opinion that failing to have the Roman script for a National Language for India, the Deva-nagari alone possesses the requisite qualification of the widest prevalence in India for being the National Script. So long as the Roman script is not accepted generally, Deva-nagari alone, with the administration giving the

lead, can be utilised to bring about the very desirable and urgently necessary unity of script for the whole of India.

The vocabulary and the script—many people have not been able to decide which is the more important. But the majority seem to think that the alphabet is the language. In Eastern U. P. and Bihar, because of its script Urdu is frequently called *Fārsī* or Persian by ignorant villagers both Hindu and Muhammadan. In an East India Company's Law Book in Hindusthani published 1803, Urdu and High-Hindu are mentioned as *Phārasī wa Nāgarī Bhākhā wo Acchar,* i. e. 'Persian and Nagari Languages and Letters' (quoted by Mr. Chandrabali Pande in 'Urdū-kā Rahasya', pp. 84-85). When a Society for the Study and Development of Hindi Literature was started at Benares over 40 years ago, the concern of the founders was more for the script than for the vocabulary, and the Society was named "Society for the Propagation of the Nagari Script" *(Nāgarī-Pracāriṇī Sabhā).* The Urdu alphabet made for the most natural affiliation of this Indian speech to Persian and Arabic. This was having an adverse effect on the native culture of India, for which High-Hindi stood, giving proper scope for Islamic matters to express themselves in it also. The Hindu thought-leaders in Northern India realised the importance of the Nāgarī script for the maintenance or preservation of Hindu culture. The language may be highly Persianised, but so long as the script remained Deva-nagari, all was well,—the language could not be turned into something *deraciné.* Even highly Persianised Hindusthani could in this way be made to pass muster as 'Hindi', the native form of the language.

The Muslim position for Hindusthani so long has been to stand by both the Persian character and the Perso-Arabic elements jealously, and to bring about progressive Persianising of the language, which has been growing with intensity since the middle of the 18th century. But there is no doubt that in this matter, the Musalmans of India whether of the North or of the South stand out almost entirely by themselves. Excepting for a few Hindus (mostly Panjab, U.P. & Bihar Kāyasthas, and some Kashmiris), who were closely connected with the Muslim

courts and adminstrative departments of Lahore and Delhi, Agra and Lucknow, Allahabad and Patna, and Haidarabad, the general body of the Hindus forming the masses of people knew nothing of it, and kept out of it. It was at first the case of an aristocracy creating a class dialect for itself and its entourage, with as much foreign elements as this dialect could absorb to show their cultural aloofness from the common run of Hindus. Here and there even in the 17th and 18th centuries members of this aristocracy might feel attracted to some aspects of Hindu culture, through its literature in Braj-bhakha, for instance (witness, for example, the *Tuḥfatu-l-Hind* of Mirza Khan, c. 1676, a treatise in Persian for the use of the Mogul courtiers on Braj-bhakha language and *belles-lettres,* poetics and rhetoric, besides Indian music, erotics and phrenology and palmistry : cf. the Introduction to the edition of Mirza Khan's *Grammar of Braj-bhakha* by M. Ziauddin, Santiniketan, 1935); but such a situation, though not so rare as we would otherwise think it to be, had no formal support from the avowed and accredited leaders of this aristocracy in matters of literature or culture. They shut themselves up within the ivory tower of their own creation, Urdu language and literature; it had no connexion whatever with the life around. Throughout the whole range of Urdu literature in its earlier phase, before Maulānā Hālī Pānīpatī and the moderns, the atmosphere of this literature is provokingly un-Indian—it is that of Persia. Early Urdu poets never so much as mention the great physical features of India—its Himālayas, its rivers like the Ganges, the Jumna, the Indus, the Narmada, the Godavari, etc., but obscure mountains and streams of Persia, and the rivers of Central Asia are always there. Indian flowers, Indian plants are unknown, only Persian flowers and plants, which the poet could see only in a garden. There was a deliberate shutting of the eye to everything Indian, every thing not mentioned or treated in Persian poetry. The first Urdu poets, deeply moved by the manifest decay of Muslim political power in the 18th century, sought to escape from a world they did not like by taking refuge in the garden seclusion of Persian poetry, the atmosphere of which they imported into Urdu. The whole

thing was an exotic, not having its roots on the soil. And upon this largely the superstructure of the 19th century and of the present-day Urdu has been founded.

Urdu literature and the Urdu form of Hindusthani are of the nature of Gandhara art; which, after all has been said about its origin and its character, cannot be entirely eschewed from a study of Indian art, if only for the direct or indirect way in which it influenced the national Indian schools. The high-flown Persianised Urdu literature may please the souls of the highly cultured coteries of Muslim or Hindu *littérateurs*, men who live and breathe in the fragrance of medieval Persian culture and medieval Persian poetry. But the masses, the vast majority of the Indian people, including millions of Musalmans, who are outside the Hindusthani circle—they are quite away from this atmosphere. Witness the literature produced by the Musalmans of Bengal: all that they have absorbed of Persian culture has been a number of Persian tales and romances, and what may be described as Arabic and Islamic *Purāṇa*—the miraculous story of the 'holy birth' *(milād šarīf)* or the advent of the Prophet, the wonderful things that will happen at the last day *(rōz-e-kiyāmat)*, the marvellous tales of the battle of Karbalā; of Amīr Hamza, of Hātim Tāyī: what in fact may be described as "the Matter of Persia and Arabia" in Indian romance. Malik Muhammad Jāyasī's *Padumāwati* (c. 1545) shows the mental make up and mental trend of a pious North Indian Musalman of the 16th century: it cannot be differentiated from that of any Hindu writer of the day, in its thorough Indianness; yet the spirit of Islam and Sufiism breathes from every line of this work.

Be it as it may, the natural supporters of Persianised Urdu would now be the majority of the Muhammadan population of the Panjab (a good many supporters of Panjabi, however, will be found among them), almost all U. P. Musalmans, and most Bihar Musalmans. The Musalmans of Gujarat, Bengal, Maharashtra and other tracts will be in sympathy with Urdu as an 'Islamic language,' and I can speak of Bengali Muhammadans, that although the more ignorant of them may admire, from a

distance, Urdu as *Nabī-jī-kā Bhāṣā* or 'the Speech of the Holy Prophet'—they do not in the least feel at home in Urdu, and they do not know or study it. Persianised Urdu, in spite of Government support, remains a class dialect to which three-fourths, perhaps four-fifths of India cannot give support.

A National Language must have resources at its disposal for properly expressing complicated ideas, and new ideas. The experience of the past, preserved in the ancient and medieval languages, cannot be ignored. All languages have to take help from others, particularly when these are not, like German and Chinese, 'building' languages, but are, like English, Japanese and most Indian languages, 'borrowing' ones. Languages in their formative periods develop either of two tendencies—*building*, or *borrowing*. Certain languages which have issued from a common speech which had a prestige in ancient times as a language of culture and which is still studied for its literature, find it most natural to turn to their fountain-head for sustenance, to borrow words from the mother-language whenever the need is felt. This has been the case with the Latin languages of the present day—Italian, French, Spanish, Catalonian, Portuguese, Rumanian—which would normally go to their Mother Latin for new words. So Modern Greek goes to Ancient Greek. Ancient Greek as the culture language *par excellence* for Europe since Renaissance times has been accepted by international agreement as the most convenient source for new scientific terms. Persian, i. e. Modern Persian, fell under the shadow of Arabic after the Arab conquest of Iran in the 7th century, and Arabic obtained a predominance as the language of religion, so that the latent qualities of Persian for building were abandoned, and Persian became a borrowing language—a hanger-on to Arabic. The Modern Indo-Aryan speeches are comparable to the Modern Latin speeches. Born within the fold of Sanskrit, they have ever been in the habit of receiving nurture from their grand-mother, or grand-aunt. They created new words with the inherited elements whenever it was suitable, but there was always the home atmosphere, the native back-ground presented by Sanskrit with its tremendous prestige and its vast literature.

This importance of Sanskrit was overwhelming even for the Dravidian South—so that, with the exception of Tamil (which has retained to a large extent, as a reflex influence of Old Tamil, with its rich and distinctive literature, its old power of building new words with native Dravidian elements, inspite of borrowing from ancient times a very large number of Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan vocables), the other main Dravidian languages, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, have abandoned themselves to Sanskrit and have become borrowing languages. Turkish was a building language when its literary life began in the 7th century, in the ancient Orkhon inscriptions found in North Central Asia: this native power of building was encouraged when Buddhism spread among the Central Asian Turks; witness, for example, an Old Turki work of Buddhist inspiration like the *Kudatqu Bilik* of the 11th century. But after the gradual conversion to Islam of the Turks settled in Iran, Iraq and Asia Minor as well as in Central Asia, the language became a borrowing one, and began to saturate itself with words from Persian and Arabic. Now with the beginning of a new order in Turkey,—and even earlier, with the beginning of the *Yeñi Turan* or 'New Turanian' movement—there has been a strong feeling, largely carried out in practice, for the abandoning of non-Turki elements, and revival of old Turki words: we shall have to refer to this again later.

Hindusthani as a New Indo-Aryan language shows its natural and expected tendency (like all other New Indo-Aryan languages like Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Panjabi and the rest) towards availing of the resources of Sanskrit, in all early forms of it. This old tendency or inheritance of Hindi or Hindusthani is preserved in the High-Hindi or Nagari-Hindi form of it. In Awadhi, in Braj-bhakha, in the mixed Braj and Panjabi, in the mixed Braj and *Khaṛī-Bōlī*—in all North Indian Upper-Gangetic dialects used for literature, we have a regular, systematic and continued borrowing from Sanskrit, as something which has never been questioned, being regarded as the most natural thing for the New Indo-Aryan speeches. But the Urdu form of Hindi gradually abandoned this natural tendency.

Cut off from its sister dialects in Northern India, which maintained the old tradition, the native genius, and the contact with Sanskrit which was the guarantee for the preservation of its culture, the Hindusthani-Panjabi dialects went along their own way in the Deccan. The earlier poets, Burhān Shāh, Wajhī, Sultān Muhammad Qūlī Qutb—all of them were content to carry on the old tradition in subject-matter, in similes, in vocabulary, and, at first, in metres also. As a *tour-de-force*, Persian metres were tried in Hindusthani, probably early in the 16th century. The use of the Persian script opened wide the gate for the uninterrupted entrance of Persian and Arabic words. But even when Northern Hindusthani after its arrival in the Deccan in the wake of the Mogul army, the *Zabān-e-Urdū-e-Mu'allā* of the end of the 17th century, began to think of profiting by the example of Dakni, its first poets, Walī, Ābrū, Nājī, Yak-rang etc. did not seek to divorce themselves wholly from the Indian spirit and the Indian atmosphere. This began later: and the attitude of some of the more ardent Persianisers of Hindusthani is pithily expressed by the Urdū poet Saudā—

gar hō kašiš-e-šāh-e-Xurāsā̃, tō Saudā,
sijda na karū̃ Hind-kī nā-pāk zamī̃ par.

('Should there be some allurement from the king of Khorasan, then, O Sauda, I would not prostrate (for my prayers) on the impure soil of India.')

The Persianisation of Urdu was, to some extent at least, the result of this mentality. Persianised Urdu, it is true, has become the real home language of the *élite* among Haidarabad and U.P. Musalmans, especially in families with some literary culture. But in spite of the support of the British Government in continuance of the Persian traditions of the Mogul administration, Persianised Urdu is dwindling in its influence with the masses. The Muslim aristocracy and some clever Hindus were responsible for its flourishing in U. P. during the greater part of the 19th century. But from figures given by Mr. Venkatesh Narayan Tiwari (in his *Hindī banām Urdū*, pp. 9-10), a steady decline in the popularity of Urdu in favour of High-Hindi in the U. P.

is noticeable, in the official figures from 1891 to 1936 for the number of subscribers to Urdu and Hindi (High-Hindī) papers, the number of students in schools and colleges for each speech, and the number of books published in the two forms of Hindusthani. In 1891, there were only 8000 people subscribing to the few High-Hindi journals, as against 16,256 people for Urdu journals: the percentage was 31.9 for High-Hindi, and 67.1 for for Urdu; but in 1936, there were 3,24,880 subscribers for High-Hindi journals, and 1,82,485 for Urdu—the percentage being almost reversed to 64.0 for Hindi and 36.0 for Urdu (it should be remembered that the readers of Urdu journals are largely from among the Musalman population who form a good percentage of the economically advanced and influential sections of the people in the U.P.). In 1936 the percentage of Urdu-reading examinees in the Vernacular School Final Examination was 41.4, and for Hindi 58.6: in 1890, it was only 22.4 for Hindi, and 77.6 for Urdu. In the High English School Final Examination, Hindi showed 56.8% and Urdu 43.2, for 1938; in the Intermediate (University) Examination for 1938, Hindi had 61.9%, and Urdu 38.4%. Of books published in the two forms of the language, the percentage for 1889-1890 was 38.8 for Hindi (361 works in all), and 61.2 for Urdu (561 works), as against 81.5 for for Hindi (2, 139 works) and 10.9 for Urdu (252 works) in 1935-36. These last figures are significant. The percentages in the schools for Urdu are to some extent the result of the Urdu tradition still fostered by the use of Urdu in the law courts, although the Hindus forming some 84% of the population in U. P. have been trying their utmost to enlist active Government support for High-Hindi. In the Indian coinage (silver coins), the values of the coins are indicated in Persian only, besides English—this was done in the East India Company days as a symbol of the domination of the Persian-using Mogul house, and now they have been restored once again from the time of Edward VII.

In spite of the prevalence of the decadent Delhi tradition and its continuance by the British Government, and its domination of North Indian life for the greater part of the 19th century,

the Indian nationalism of the Hindus naturally rallied round Sanskrit, and Persianised Urdu has been brought to its present straits. The very large concessions made by the Indian National Congress to the sentiments of a section of Indian Musalmans in this matter, which judged from any standard is frankly anti-national, included a recognition of the Persian script as an alternative script for the 'National Language' of India. This spirit of concession has been further extended by giving a greater latitude to the Persianising tendency in practically setting its face against the High-Hindi form of Hindusthani (with its insistence on native words, and failing native words with its habit of going to Sanskrit for higher culture words), and tacitly and actively supporting an Urdu 'Hindusthani'. The Congress is now proposing to create, out of the common *Khaṛī-Bōlī* or *Ṭhēṭh* basis of Hindusthani, which forms the bed-rock on which both literary High-Hindi and Urdu stand, a New Speech, or New Literary Style, with the avowed intention of holding a just and proper balance between the foreign Persian and Arabic words insisted on by the Musalman leaders and the native Hindi and Sanskrit words insisted upon by Hindus of the Hindusthani area and of the rest of the country. In practice, this is amounting to Persianised Hindusthani, which Gujaratis, Bengalis, Marathas, Oriyas and the people of the South do not understand (and yet they are required to adopt this form of Hindusthani as the 'National Language' of India), and with which the masses in Bihar and U.P., Rajputana and Central India, and the Central Provinces, do not wholly feel at home, accustomed as they are to a Sanskritic vocabulary. Only the Musalman *élite* of the U.P., Bihar, Hindi-speaking Central Provinces and the Panjab, and a good many educated Hindus and Sikhs of Western U. P. and Panjab, may find this language convenient.

It should be understood clearly that the attraction for Hindu Hindusthani which peoples of Eastern U.P., Bihar, Nepal, Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Andhra, Tamil-Nāḍu, Karnāṭa, Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan feel, depends primarily on two things—its Deva-nagari Script, and its Sanskrit Vocabulary. We should never, nor can we ever, forget this great fact,

The Hindus of U. P., praticularly in the West and the centre, and in towns like Delhi and Lucknow and Allahabad, as a result of circumstances (which are no longer present) were brought in closer touch with a Persian vocabulary than were the people (including Musalmans) of any other part of India—excepting perhaps the Panjab. We do not, outside of the U. P. and the Panjab, understand what is meant by foreign words like *taraqqi, mazhab, zālim, inqilāb, āzādī, jang, 'ālim, tawārīx, qaumī, zabān, fāteh, maftūh, dušman, wazīr-e-'alā, muš'ara* and a host of other words which we hear in the 'Hindustani' of the All India Radio—unless we have specially taken it upon us to study the meanings of these and similar words: but from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Dibrugarh to Peshawar, 4/5ths of the people who can follow a Radio Talk would understand *unnati, dharma, atyācārī, krānti* or *viplava, swādhīnatā, yuddha, vidvān, itihās, jātīya, bhāṣā, jētā* or *jayī, vijita, śatru, pradhān mantrī, kavi-sammēlan,* etc. The enthusiasm shown by the rest of India for Hindusthani as the national language of India was because it was Sanskritic Hindi written in the Indian alphabet, the Devanagari: it was because they found a common bond between their own languages and Hindusthani through the Sanskrit element. They were glad to recognise Hindi as 'the first among equals'—*primus inter pares*—among the modern languages of India. But a whittling down of the Sanskritic element in Hindi to a secondary position can only be looked upon as a direct attack on the Indian Tradition and Indian Culture; and the result of it would be an announcement of Indian bankruptcy in matters of culture, which can only be supported by borrowings from the treasuries of Persian and Arabic, as if Sanskrit did not exist. What true Indian—especially if he is a Hindu—would, with his sense of national self-respect intact, abandon e.g. the Sanskrit word for 'mathematics'—*gaṇita*—and go to Arabic for a word like *hindasa,* which itself is a borrowed word in Arabic, being from the Aryan Persian *andāza?* Should we call a 'triangle' *musallas* rather than *trikōṇa?* Who with any sense of national self-respect would import wholesale from Arabia, all higher terms of science and literature and philosophy, when there are

the Sanskrit terms which were never out of use, at least in Hindu India?

The Hindu attitude appears to be clear in this matter—that is the attitude of the true nationalist. In spite of concession to Musalman sentiment, no true Indian—unless he is actuated by religious passion, and has the fantastic notion of connecting spirituality with script and with words not pertaining actually to religious matters—would like to sacrifice Sanskrit at the altar of Arabic. The keenness for Arabic is no longer the characteristic of Islamic peoples outside of Arabia. Turkey has even ousted the Arabic word for 'God', *Allāh,* by the Old Turki words *Täṅri* (meaning 'Sky', or 'Sky God,' 'God in Heaven'), *Idi* ('Lord') and *Munku* ('Immortal'). In Persia, the native Aryan words *Xudā* or *Xudāy* ('the Being Who acts of Himself', <Old Iranian *xva-dāta*=Sanskrit *sva-dhā-*: Greek *autokratōr)* and *Īzad* ('the Worshipped One', <Old Iranian *yazata*= Sanskrit *yajata)* could never be suppressed by the Arabic *Allāh,* and the native Aryan *namāz* (=Skt. *namas)* 'prayer' is the more common word in Iran (and India) than the Arabic *ṣalāt.* The Persians have not abjured Islam, yet they are making a move in the direction of having a purer native Iranian diction by freeing their language from Arabic. Old Persian words are being revived: *Īzad* 'God' which was getting to be rather obsolete is now becoming once again a popular word. The University of Tehran is no longer known by the Arabic name of *Dāru-l-'ulūm,* but by the Aryan Persian name *Dāniš-gāh* (=Skt. **jāniṣṇu-gātu* for *jñāna-gātu).* With the outside world moving in this direction, the attitude of a certain section of Indian Muslimdom now holding an intransigent view on the question of Persianised Urdu is bound to undergo a change; and signs are not wanting that such a change is in sight. Individual Muslim scholars have indicated their changed feelings towards Sanskrit and Hindi. A Muslim friend of mine, a University Professor whose native town is Lucknow and who is a scholar of Arabic and Persian with twelve years' stay in German and other Universities Europe, once suggested to a Muslim friend of his, when the latter asked him to find a suitable Persian or

Arabic name for his newly-built house, that he should give it a Hindi or Sanskrit name like *Sukh-bhawan,* because, as he explained, Persian and Arabic names were becoming hackneyed, and out of place, and being an Indian he should be quite happy to give his house an Indian name. Already a strong band of Muslim writers I am told have appeared who are making their Urdu approach pure Hindi more and more by employing (as much as they can now do) native Hindi words of Indo-Aryan origin, and recent poems of one such author have been published in both the scripts, to be read as both 'Hindi' and Urdu.

Even the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the greatest name in Urdu poetry at the present day (and the sponsor of the *Pākistān* idea which aims at splitting up India into two 'nations,' a 'Hindu nation' and a 'Muslim nation', in spite of his being of Kashmiri Brahman origin), could at times (although in a spirit of condescension, one would suspect) write a verse like this.—

śaktī bhī śāntī bhī bhagatõ-kē gīt-mẽ hai,

dhartī-kē bāsiyõ-kī muktī prīt-mẽ hai. (*Nayā Śiwāla*).

'Strength and Peace are both in the Songs of those who have love : the Salvation of the Dwellers on Earth is in Love'. ('The New Temple')

—a verse which is quite a contrast in its language to his ordinary highly Persianised Urdu as in the line from him quoted before at p. 129. One Early Urdu poet at least had refused to go in for too much Arabic and Persian—at least in some of poems. Nazīr of Agra (c. 1740-1820) wrote in a racy Hindusthani which was neither too much Persianised nor too much Ṡanskritised, and in some of his poems (intended for Hindu audiences particularly) he used Sanskrit words without stint. (He was a teacher by profession who used to teach Persian and Urdu to the sons of the Maratha Peshwa when the latter was under detention at Agra, and also sons of Hindu merchants in the city). Nazīr was a true lover of man, and in the opinion of Fallon, from European i.e. modern standards he was the only great poet of Early Urdu—in spite of the fact

that a number of vulgar and obscene poems are ascribed to him. It is a great pity that the form of Hindusthani he employed in many of his poems did not commend itself to the poets and other writers of Urdu who were enamoured of the flower garden of Persia. Nazīr's poems are deservedly popular, and poems like the *Banjāra-nāma,* the *Jōgī,* the *Barsāt,* and the *Ādmī-nāma* are well-known. It may be that Nazīr in what may be called his poems on general subjects and on subjects of Hindu mythology (and not in his formal *ghazals* in the approved style, where he had to follow Persian conventions) may yet prove to be a guide and a prophet for present-day Hindusthani.

In case it is attempted to restrict the Sanskrit element in Hindi (Hindusthani) in the name of communal unity—and it looks as if that is the attitude of some people in the country—then the Hindus at least would be well-advised to follow the suggestion of Dr. F. W. Thomas of Oxford that since Sanskrit has served Indian civilisation for thirty centuries, and is the most precious heritage of India, why not retain Sanskrit as the *Kultursprache* as well as the *Verkehrssprache*—as the truly National Language of India? A Hindusthani which will be cold or estranged in its attitude to Sanskrit will have a resultant influence on the other New Indo-Aryan languages: already an opposition to a 'Hindustani,' which is antagonistic to Sanskrit Hindusthani (i.e. High-Hindi), is crystallising in Bengal (which province, it must be said, was never enthusiastic about Hindusthani, and only to a limited extent for Sanskritic Hindi), since it is feared that under the umbrage of a communally acceptable Persianised 'Hindustani' (which theoretically would pay equal homage to Arabic, Persian, English and Sanskrit, and in practice would only employ Persian and Arabic words), as sponsored by the Congress leaders, a disruption of the Bengali language may be seriously taken in hand by demanding the creation of a form of Bengali going no longer to Sanskrit but to Arabic for all culture words. Many Hindi writers whom I met at the last All India Hindi Literary Conference at Benares were against the anti-Sanskrit drive which is being evidenced in certain quarters.

Since Hindusthani, to be expressive of high and modern ideas, to be more than a mere *Verkehrssprache* for elementary affairs of life, must borrow words as it cannot always create them, this borrowing should primarily be from Sanskrit. In other words, a language to be a truly national language, cannot ignore Sanskrit. In practice, it would be that the nationally acceptable form of the language in its vocabulary would be High-Hindi and not Urdu. For culture words, this should be the procedure in building and borrowing: follow the practice of the masses in building new words wherever possible with existing materials; then borrow from Sanskrit, or failing that, from Persian or Arabic, or English. For words of a general import, Sanskrit should be given the first preference. There should be fullest provision for the inclusion of specific 'Islamic words' from the Arabic or Persian, as Sanskrit equivalents may be objected to and at times objected to reasonably as not connoting the exact idea. This feeling against Sanskrit or Hindi was not to be found in the attitude of the first great Islamic conqueror of India, the great Mahmūd of Ghazna, the *But-šikan* or 'Iconoclast', who even translated the Arabic creed into Sanskrit on his Indian *dirhams* (pp.167-8). Aurangzeb also had no animus against Sanskrit as such: we learn from one of his intimate and very personal and human letters written in Persian to his sons and others, that in reply to a request from one of his sons to give suitable names to two kinds of mangoes sent to the emperor, Aurangzeb suggested two Sanskrit names—*sudhā-ras* and *rasnā-bilās* (=*rasanā-vilāsa*). If the Persians could continue to use their old words *xudā* and *namāz* and *rōza, payɣambar* and *firišta* (side by side with or in place of the Arabic words *Allāh, ṣālat, ṣawm, rasūl* and *mal'ak*), there is no reason why the same practice could not be followed in India, employing native Indian (Sanskrit or Hindi) words like *Īśwar* or *Dēv, arcanā* or *bintī, upavās* or *laṅghan, Īśwar-prērit* or *Mahāpuruṣ,* and *Dēv-dūt* respectively. Even Mahmūd of Ghazna in his Indian coins used Sanskrit terms like *avatāra* and *jina* for the Arabic *rasūl*= 'prophet.' Till recently, village Muhammadans round about Allahabad employed the term *Gusaiyã* (<Skt. *gōsvāmin*) in-

stead of *Allāh,* and *Kartār, Sā̃ī (=svāmī)* etc. are used by Malik Muhammad Jayasi and others for *Allāh.* If educated Muslim sentiment continues to be against such Sanskrit and Hindi words, we shall have to adopt the Persian and Arabic ones in specifically Muslim contexts. Moreover, the National Language should be ready to accept, it may be several hundreds, or even a thousand or so, of specific words of Islamic theology, ritual and religious culture—which for practical purposes will remain as Class Words. And as for the general mass of Arabic and Persian words in Hindusthani referring to simple facts (things and notions) of life—they should be left undisturbed: it will be decided by the sense of the speaker or writer how far these words would be understood by his audience or his readers: e.g. words like *ādmī, mard, 'aurat, bacca, hawā, kam, bēš, ma'lūm, nazdīk, mulk, fauj, 'āīn, jald, falāna, xūb (khūb), hamēša, dēr, jama', hisāb, ẓidd, ḥukm,* etc.—the list would run up to at least five thousand (the number is surmised by taking note of what we have in Bengali: some 2,500 Perso-Arabic words have been naturalised in the language, out of 1,20,000 in the second edition of its biggest dictionary, that by the late Jñānendra Mohan Dās). Such words have become a part of Hindi also: these can never be objected to. Many of these words have become the small coin of daily usage and now we cannot easily do without them—although we have Sanskrit and Hindi equivalents in current use (e.g. for the words quoted above, we have, respectively, *mānus, puruṣ* or *nar, strī* or *nārī, śiśu, bayār* or *vāyu, alpa* or *thōṛā, adhik, vidit* or *jñāta, niyaṛ* or *nikaṭ, dēś, sēnā, vidhi, turant* or *śīghra, amuk, acchā* or *sundar, sadā, vilamba, ēkatra* or *ikaṭṭhā,* or *āy, gaṇanā* or *āya-vyaya, āgraha* or *nirbandha, ājñā* or *āgyā).* But it is a different story for learned words.

Often, like public prayer aiming at both God and man at the same time and hitting neither, an anxiety to steer a middle course leads to the concoction of a kind of artificial mixture of Hindi and Urdu—of Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic, which pleases neither the Hindu nor the Musalman. This is what is being perpetrated in Cinema Hindusthani—in Bombay and

elsewhere. When in a film from the *Purāṇas* or ancient Hindu history, a *Rishi* seeks to snub a talkative character or a mob into silence and shouts out in Persian—*xamōš, xamōš!* and then scatters in his Hindusthani some Sanskrit jaw-breakers cheek by jowl with some Arabic and Persian ones, or when ancient Hindu heroes and heroines vow eternal *mohabbat* ('love') to each other which would endure all their *zindagī* ('life') and even beyond, the taste and sense of fitness of the language-makers to order cannot be commended. Hindusthani should have in reserve a good deal of its Perso-Arabic elements to suit special conditions. A language true to its genius as a language of India, and true to its great and unapproachable Sanskrit heritage, will be all the more expressive if it had, not for everyday use among all and sundry, but for stylistic embellishment when occasion demanded it, a repository of Arabic and Persian. It will thus have some of the Protean character of English with the power it derives from its native Saxon and its borrowed French and Latin elements.

My suggestion therefore is: Let us have the Roman script, and let us retain the Sanskrit vocables, let us keep the Sanskrit background, borrowing ordinarily from this national source; at the same time, let us retain or introduce all Arabic and Persian words necessary to keep Islamic ideology intact; and let us not interfere with the commonly used Arabic and Persian words understood by the majority of people. The national Language then would be, Romanised, Sanskritic, 'Hindi' Hindusthani, with a universally recognised Perso-Arabic element and a free scope for the inclusion of Perso-Arabic words in certain departments like Islamic religion and Islamic culture.

We now come to the final point: this Romanised Sanskritic Hindusthani with its Perso-Arabic element and all, should be a simplified language,—i.e. simplified in its grammar. The importance of this aspect of the question is not understood, or it is suppressed.

As a Calcutta boy, I had picked up in the streets, and at home from Bihari servants, just enough of what I have called 'Bāzār Hindusthānī' as used in our side of India. When

I first studied a grammar of correct Hindusthani in a little book printed entirely in the Roman script and intended to be used by British soldiers coming out to India, I received a shock of linguistic discovery: I found that where we used simply one form for the verb future in all the persons and numbers (e.g. *ham jāegā—ham-lōg jāegā, tum jāegā—tum-lōg jāegā, āp jāegā—āp-lōg jāegā, wo jāegā—ū-lōg jāegā*), the grammar gave at least four (*maı jāū̃gā—ham jāeṅgē, tū jāegā—tum jāogē, wah jāegā—wē jāeṅgē*). Then I realised gradually that there were at least two forms of Hindusthani: one was used in books and in public meetings, the grammar of which was treated in books, and the other, in various simplified forms, was current among ordinary people,—even among educated people of some parts of Bihar and U.P., as I found out later.

The grammar of High-Hindi and Urdu i.e. of the *Khaṛī Bōlī* speech, of the basic form of Hindi-Urdu, is not an easy matter: and in the following points, there is a universal tendency towards simplification:

(1) Abandonment of the Inflected Plural Forms (e.g., *ghoṛā-sab, sab bāt, istrī-lōg* rather than *ghoṛā*—pl. *ghōṛē, bāt—bātē̃, (i)strī—(i)striyā̃*).

(2) Abandonment of the Oblique Forms of the Singular (e.g. *ghōṛā-kā* rather than *ghōṛē-kā*) : also the Genitive governing a Noun in the Oblique (*us-kā hāth-sē lō,* rather than *us-kē hāth-sē lō*).

(3) Abandonment of Grammatical Gender (Feminine), and with it of the special (Adjectival) Genitive Affix *-kī* if the governed noun is feminine (e. g. *us-kā lāṭhī, us-kā bahan, nayā kitāb, bhāt acchā banā magar dāl acchā nahī̃ banā,* etc.=correct Hindusthani *us-kī lāṭhī, us-kī bahn, nayī kitāb, bhāt acchā banā magar dāl acchī nahī̃ banī*).

(4) Use of One Form of the Various Tenses for All Persons and Numbers (e.g. *ham jātā hai—ham-lōg jātā hai; tum āyā thā—tum-lōg āyā thā*).

(5) Active (or Neuter) Construction, with only One Form for All Numbers and Persons, of the Transitive Verb in the Past

Tense, and Total Abandonment of the current Passive Construction of the Past Transitive Verb in which the verb is an adjective qualifying the object, taking plural and feminine affixes if the object is in the plural or in the feminine (e. g. Bāzār Hindi *ham rōṭī khāyā, ham bhāt khāyā; ham ēk rājā dēkhā, ham dō rājā dēkhā, ham rānī dēkhā*—all in Active Construction; *ham (ēk, dō) rājā-kō dēkhā, ham rānī-kō dēkhā*—Neuter Construction, with the implication of a certain definiteness in the object; in Standard or Correct Hindusthani, these would be respectively *ham-nē* or *maĩ-nē rōṭī khāī* (fem.), or *bhāt khāyā* (masc.); *ham-nē* or *maĩ-nē ēk rājā dekhā, dō rājā dēkhē; ham-nē* or *maĩ-nē rānī dēkhī, dō rānīā̃ dēkhī̃*; besides the Neuter Construction—*ham-nē* or *ma -nē ek* (or *dō) rājāō̃-kō* (or *rānīō̃-kō) dēkhā.*

The gender system of Hindusthani is extremely arbitrary, and even doctors in both High-Hindi and Urdu differ in this matter. Both in High-Hindi and Urdu, there is masculine and feminine, but there is no neuter. Gender is grammatical in Hindi, not based on natural sex. The Prakrit *potthiā* as a derivative of Skt. *pustikā* 'book' is feminine, and in Hindusthani the derived form *pōthī* also is feminine, because its source-form is so in Prakrit. The Perso-Arabic *kitāb,* and the Sanskrit *pustaka* (neuter in Skt.), became both feminine in Hindusthani because these were adopted as equivalents of the feminine *pōthī.* But curiously enough, Persian *daftar* and Sanskrit *grantha* which both mean 'book', are both masculine—probably as later admissions in Hindusthani. (So *vārtā* > *vattā* > *bāt* is feminine in Hindi because of the OIA. source-form.) When feminine, the noun takes an adjective with the feminine affix *-ī,* and the verb which 'qualifies' it is also put in the feminine.

Grammatical Gender, and the Passive Construction for the Past Tense of the Transitive Verb which also involves the use of gender and number, are two of the points in Hindusthani grammar which make the language difficult—particularly for speakers of languages and dialects in which grammatical gender is absent (e.g. Eastern Hindi, Bihari, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya,

and the Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic, and Sino-Tibetan languages). Speakers of Panjabi and Lahndi and Sindhi, and partly speakers of Rajasthani and Gujarati and Marathi, and of the Himalayan dialects, which possess grammatical gender and have kept up the Passive Construction (in a modified way though, in some cases) and the Neuter Construction for the Past Tense of Transitive Verbs, would be expected not to feel any difficulty in this matter : but even here, as I have found from experience, persons with these languages also prefer to speak Bāzār Hindusthani in the simplified form as indicated above. In Madras and in Mysore I was told that as most of the Dravidian-speaking candidates felt the difficulty about grammatical gender and passive construction very trying, the Congress Hindusthani Boards relaxed Hindi grammar in this matter for the first and second year students in the three-year course for Hindi, and did not penalise them in the examination for mistakes in these matters. Evidently the sense of the South Indian teachers and learners of Hindi told them that these were inessential things in Hindusthani.*

These two things make the acquirement of High-Hindi and Urdu a matter for careful study so far as the Eastern Hindi and Bihari people are concerned, and to some extent also Rajasthani and Panjabi peoples, who have all accepted Hindusthani as there literary language. They are here at a natural disadvantage as compared with the speakers of the Western

*It is interesting to note the following observation from Dr. Paṭṭābhi Sītārāmayya, Andhra (Telugu) Congress-leader of All-India importance : "The two bugbears to us in the South in respect of Hindi or Hindustani are the use of the letter *ne* with the subject and the distinction of gender for words. In Telugu we have gender which is simple, and the words follow the implications of sex, the inflection being the same for feminine and neuter......When we people of the South however have to learn Hindi or Hindustani, we must be exempt from the tyranny of *ne* as well as of gender. In the ultimate analysis both are the same, as the difficulty about the use of *ne* simply centres round the question of gender, and number too." (*National Language of India*, a series of 28 articles compiled by Z. A. Ahmad, 'Kitabistan', Allahabad, 1941, p. 252.)

Hindi dialects of the *Pachāhā* or the West. This is not only in the matter of grammar, as indicated above, but also in connexion with idiom and vocabulary. A person of the Pachhanha or Western Hindustan uses the words and idioms of his spoken dialect without any fear : but not so with one dwelling in Allahabad and Benares and Patna. The Prakritic pure Hindi words of Hindusthani belong to the Pachhanha ; the gender sense is also western. Has not the Urdu poet said –

bāzō̃-kā gumā̃ hai, ki–'ham ahl-e-zabā̃ haĩ':

Dillī nahī̃ dēkhī, zabā̃-dā̃ yē kahā̃ haĩ ?

'Others have the pride–"We are the People of the Language." They have not seen Delhi : how can they know the language ?'

We are remainded of the remark made in the *Kauṣitakī Brāhmaṇa* about the superiority of the language of the *Udīcya* tract (see ante, p. 56). To be able to speak Hindusthani (High-Hindi or Urdu) correctly and idiomatically, a sojourn in Western U.P.–in Delhi preferably, or in Meerut or Dehra Dun, is a great help. Many Hindi and Urdu literary men and scholars who belong to *Pachāhā* consequently have a natural feeling of superiority over *Purabiyās* (Easterners) and others in matters of language ; and the latter, with a corresponding inferiority complex, tacitly acknowledge it too, and quietly submit to any ridicule that may be levelled against them for their bad grammar, wrong idiom and incorrect vocabulary.

But these grammatical specialities, which are real difficulties for the rest of India, being smoothened, as it has been done most easily by the Eastern Hindi people and by Biharis, Hindi or Hindusthani in its popular form, with its Sanskrit vocabulary, would be one of the simplest, easiest and most powerful languages. The entire grammar of such a simplified Hindusthani can be written on a post-card. A terse and vigorous language like Bāzār Hindusthani should be picked up from the streets and the *bāzārs*, where it is leading its free and uncontrolled existence, scoffing at the pedantry which affects to look down upon it, and it should be raised to the dignity of a respectable

Lingua Franca, if it is just made allowable to speak it in public meetings. Literature can grow in it later—and will grow in it. But all that is for the future. For the present, it can be only taken up and encouraged as a subsidiary language which all and sundry may be asked to familiarise themselves with. It will exist side by side with Persianised Urdu and with High-Hindi, as it is actually doing now. Those who wish will continue to cultivate, according to their choice or religion, Urdu and High-Hindi, as now.

This third form of Hindusthani (for the present at least) may be restricted to inter-provincial matters, in an organisation like the Indian National Congress. Lovers of literary Hindi and Urdu, and those who by birth belong to the genuine Hindusthani tracts (i.e. Western Hindi areas), would naturally feel alarmed at what would look like an onslaught on the very bases of their language. But a good many generations of this bad, ungrammatical Bāzār Hindusthani has not been able to soil the well of Hindi and Urdu undefiled. So long at it (grammatical Hindi-Urdu) lives as a home dialect and continues to be cultivated, although within a more restricted area, its character will not be spoiled. It is the outsiders without a grip of the language who spoil it by trying to speak or write it. This sort of misgiving is present in the minds of many writers from the Pachhanha, who do not feel very enthusiastic about Hindi and Urdu as written by many writers from Bihar, Eastern U.P., Panjab and Rajputana. Give them what may be called a *Concession Speech,* and the original language may then be saved.

But one need not enter into all this speculation. I only recommend to the notice of those who are much exercised for our National Language the already existent Simplified Hindusthani. I have already discussed at length the character of this Simplified Hindusthani as we use it in Calcutta and Bengal: my experience in the streets or Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, Peshawar, Darjeeling, Gauhati and Dacca, and Madras, Tirupati, Bangalore and Rameshwaram, has convinced me that it is not much different from the Hindusthani of these towns. A board of experts who have studied this Simplified Hindusthani

in the different parts of India—including also the Dravidian South—will be in a position to recommend the *absolute minimum of grammar necessary to regulate this pan-Indian Verkehrssprache,* and to suggest ways and means of using it to the best advantage of the Indian people.

A Basic Hindusthani with a simplified grammar (eschewing grammatical gender, and number affixes, and the passive construction for the past tense of the transitive verb), which is actually in existence, with a frank affiliation to Sanskrit, while retaining naturalised Arabic and Persian words and admitting fresh Arabic and Persian terms in connexion with Islamic religion and matters relating specifically to Islamic culture, and written in the Roman script (in a new and simple system, with the letters arranged and named as in the Indian alphabet and using no dotted and capped letters but some separable modifying symbols) —failing which, written in the Deva-nagari character: —this strikes me as the only way to make a modern Indian language like Hindusthani or Hindi take the place of a real National Language for present-day and future India.

[A] AN INDO-ROMAN ALPHABET.

It will be possible to print Hindi (Hindusthani) and other Indian Languages, ancient and modern, Aryan and non-Aryan, with all the sounds contemplated by the Deva-nagari and Perso-Arabic scripts, by means of the ordinary Roman letters required in printing an English newspaper. (The question has been fully discussed, as mentioned before, in my paper—*A Roman Alphabet for India,* published in the Calcutta University "Journal of the Department of Letters," 1935.) The necessity for the very cumbersome 'capped' and 'dotted' letters will be removed by the employment of a number of moveable 'indicators' *(sūcaka-cihna, nišānī-e-'alāmat)* to denote vowel-length [:], the cerebral or retroflex quality ['], the palatal quality [′], and nasalisation (an Italic [*n*] after the nasalised vowel, failing the *tilde* mark [~] which is to be put before such a vowel). The single dot on the top of the line [·] can be used for other purposes. There will be no capital letters, an asterisk [*] before a word indicating that it is a proper name (or adjective from a proper name). Extra large or thick-sized indicators [: ' ′ ~ · *] can easily be devised, so that there would be no risk of mistake or omission in writing or printing.

Equivalents of the Deva-nagari and Perso-Arabic in the proposed Indo-Roman script are given below. The arrangement of the letters in this Indo-Roman script is to be the scientific one of Deva-nagari; and the Indo-Romans letters are to be named as in Sanskrit or Hindi: e.g. [g] as *ga* (and not *jee* as in English), [*h*] as *ha* (and not *aitch)*, [u] as *u* (i.e. उ) and not as *you (yū)* as in English, etc. A letter like [n·] is to be named in Hindusthani as *bū̃d-wālā n·* (i.e. बूँदवाला ङ, 'dotted n·'), [n′] as *pāī-wālā n′* (i.e. पाईवाला ञ 'n′ with a bar'), [t' d' n'] as *cōṭī-wālē t' d' n'* (i.e. चोटीवाले ट, ड, ण, 't' d' n' with the queue'), etc.,

and the asiprates are to be named as *ka par ha (yā prāṇ) kha* [kh], *cōṭī-wālē ḍ'a par ha (yā prāṇ) ḍha* [d'h], etc.

अ आ, इ ई, उ ऊ, ए ऐ, ओ औ=[a a:, i i:, u u:, e (or e:) ai, o (or o:) au]; Nasalised Vowels, अं, आं, इं, उं एं etc. [~a, ~a:, ~i, ~u, ~ai] etc.; failing the *tilde* sign [~], for nasalisation, an Italic [*n*] can conveniently be used *after* the vowel, e.g. [a*n*, a:*n*, i*n*, u*n*, ai*n*] etc.: thus पांच, پانچ = [p~a:c], or [pa:*n*c].

क, ख, ग, घ, ङ = [k, kh, g, gh, n·];
च, छ, ज, झ, ञ = [c, ch, j, jh, n′];
ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण = [t', t'h, d', d'h, n']; ड़ ढ़= [r', r'h];
त, थ, द, ध, न = [t, th, d, dh, n];
प, फ, ब, भ, म = [p, ph, b, bh, m];
य, र, ल, व = [y, r, l, w (v)];
श, ष, स, ह = [s′, s', s, h].

Special letters of Sanskrit (including Vecic):

ऋ ॠ = [r·, r:]; ऌ= [l·]; ळ ळ्ह (*ḷ*, *ḷh*) = [l', l'h]; *visarga* =[h·], *anusvāra*=[m·].

As ङ, ञ [n·, n′] normally occur in Hindi (and Sanskrit) only before their corresponding stops and aspirates, both of these can conveniently be written only [n], the phonetic context implying their nature: thus पङ्क=पंक=[panka], पञ्च, पंच =[panca]. instead of [pan·ka, pan′ca]. So too in the case of ण, ण=[n'], which as a native sound does not occur in Hindi (Hindusthani),

its use in High-Hindi being only in Sanskrit words: thus गण्डवाना = [gand'wa:na:], चण्डी = [cand'i:], but विवरण = [vivaran']. The sound of व = [w *or* v] of Sanskrit in initial positions becomes [b] in Hindi (cf. *vivāha* > *biyāh, byāh ; vimśati* > *bīs),* even in Sanskrit borrowings (e.g. *vicāra* = *bicār, vivēka* = *bibēk, dēvī* = *dēbī, vṛndāvana* = *brīndāban,* etc.). It will perhaps be convenient to use [b] in Native (Prakritic) Hindi words, and [w] or [v] in Sanskrit borrowing *(tatsamas).*

Special Indo-Roman letters for those of the Perso-Arabic Script:

ص ، س ، ث =[s] : but if thought necessary, they may be differentiated as ث=[s'], س=[s], ص=[s)]: e.g. ثالث= [s'a:lis'], سرخ=[surx], صدر=[s)adr].

ظ ، ض ، ذ ، ز=[z] : differentiated as ز=[z], ذ=[z'], ض=[z)] and ظ=[z:)]: e. g. زخم=[zaxm], عذر=[†uz'r], قاضي=[qa:z)i:], قرض=[qarz)], ظلم=[z:)ulm], حافظ=[h:a:fiz:)], نذر=[naz'r], نظر=[naz:)r], etc.

ش ، ژ=[s', z'] respectively; ط=[t)];

چ=[c], ج=[j], خ=[x], ح=[h:], ه=[h];

ع=[†]; hamza=[ʔ];

ف=[f], ق=[q], غ=[g'].

Special Sounds of Tamil (and Malayalam): [l']=the cerebral l; [z']=the so-called *zh* or 'ḻ' sound as in the word *Tamil*= [tamiz']; [n), r)]=the so-called 'palatal' *n* and *r* sounds; and [x] or [h·]=the *āytam.* Short [e, o], and Long [e:, o:], as required.

Special Sounds for Kol (Munda) languages: [k), c), t), p)] or [g), j), d), b)] for the 'checked' stops; [a'] for the peculiar Santali *a.*

[B] Basic Hindi.

Below are given some passages in a sort of simplified *Basic Hindi (Bāzārī Hindī* or *Hindūsthānī, Laghu Hindī)* as proposed in Lecture IV. English as well as Standard High-Hindi and Urdu equivalents are given in parallel columns: and foreign words in the three forms of Hindi (Hindustani, Hindusthani) are in all cases given in Italics. (The Indo-Roman script as above has been used.)

[3] INDEPENDENCE DAY PLEDGE, INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 26 JANUARY 1940 : THE PREAMBLE.

ENGLISH	HIGH HINDI	URDU	BASIC HINDI
Independence Day Pledge.	swa:dhi:nata: diwas ki: pratijn'a:	*yaum-a:za:di:* ka: *ah:ad-na:ma*	swa:dhi:nata: ka: din ka: bacan
We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth.	ham *yaqi:n* karte hai*n* ki **hindusta:n* ki: janata: ko, jaisa: ki kisi: du:sre *mulk* ki: janata: ko, yah pu:ra: *haqq* hai ki use *a:za:di:* mile, wah apni: *mihnat* ka: phal bhog sake, aur ji:wan ke liye jo *ci:z zaru:ri:* hai*n* itni: mile ki use apni: *taraqqi:* karne ka: pu:ra: *mauqa:* pra:pta ho.	hama:ra: *yaqi:da* hai ki du:sre logo*n* ki: *tarah:* **hindusta:ni:on* ka: bhi: yah ek *paida:is'i: h:aqq* hai ki wah *a:za:d* ho*n* aur apni: *mih:nat* ke phal kha:e*n* aur unhe*n zindagi:* ki: *tama:m z)aru:riya:t nasi:b* ho*n*, ta:ki unhe*n* bhi: *taraqqi:* karne ke pu:re pu:re *mauqe* mil sake*n*.	ham-log, aur des'o*n* ka: bha:*n*ti:, *bha:rat-wa:si:o*n* ka: bhi: aisa: adhika:r (*hakk*) ma:nta: hai:, jo ka-bhi: chi:n liya: ja: nahi:*n* sakta:, ki ham-log swa:dhi:n ho kar rahe, apna: kama:i: ka: phal ham-log a:p-hi:-a:p bhog kare, aur ham-logo*n*-ko ji:wan bi:ta:ne ke liye *zaru:ri:* (a:was'yak) sab subidha: mil ja:e, jis se ham-logo*n* ko bhi: apna: unnati ka: pu:ra: awasar (*mauka:*) mil sake.

ENGLISH	HIGH HINDI	URDU	BASIC HINDI
can only be secured by internal peace and good government.	jo kewal des' men s'a:nti aur sus'a:san ke rahne se ho sakti: hai.	*s)ubah:, wa a:s'ti:* aur *h:u-kumat* ke *h:usn intiz:)a:m* hi: se *ru:numa:* hota: hai.	re, jo kewal des' men bhi:tari: s'a:nti aur sus'a:san ka: rahne se ho sakta: hai.
And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be firmly and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.	hama:ri: yah bhi: kalpana: hai ki hama:ri: *bha:rati:ya praja:on men jo log apni: s'iks'a:, sa:marthya aur sacca:i: se jin *sarka:ri:* ka:mon ko pu:ri: ri:ti se karne ke yogya hon·ge, ja:ti aur dharma ka: wica:r na kar ke nis'paks'apa:t se un ko jaha:n tak ho sakega: un ka:mon par stha:yi: niyukta kiya: ja:ega: .	*ni:z* hama:ri: *yah bhi: xwa:his'* hai, *ta: ba-h:add-e-imka:n* hama:ri: *ra†a:ya:* ke *bila: taxs)i:s)-e-maz·h:ab-o-millat* hama:ri: *h:uku:mat* ke *s'u†bon* men in *†ahadon* par *fa:ʔiz* kiye ja:en, jin ke *fara:ʔiz)* wah apni: *†ilmiyyat, qa:biliyyat* aur *diya:nat* se *anja:m* de sakte hon.	aur hama:ra: ye bhi: iccha: hai ki, jaha:n tak ho sakega:, bina: ja:t aur dharma ka: bica:r kar, hama:ra: *bha:rati:ya praja: log hama:ra: *sarka:r* ka: ka:mon men drir'hata: ke sa:th aur bina: paks'apa:t se niyat kiya: ja:ega:, jin ka:mon ko accha: ri:t (praka:r, *tarah)* se karne ko apna: s'iks'a:, s'akti aur saca:i: ke ka:ran' ye-log jogya hoga: .
In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.	*bha:rat-wa:siyon ki: samr·ddhi hama:ri: s'akti, un ke santos' se hama:ri: nirbhay sthiti, aur un ki: kr·tajn'ata: se hama:ra: uttam puraska:r hoga: .	un ki: *xus'-h:a:li:* hama:re liye *ba:ʔis·-e-iqtida:r,* un ki: *t)ama:niyyat* hama:re liye *maujib-e-†a:fiyyat,* aur un ka: *tas'akkur* hama:ri: *mih:naton* ka: *s·amra* hai.	un-logon ka: samriddhi men hi: hama:ra: s'akti, un ka: santos' men hama:ra: nirbhay rahna:, aur un ka: kritagyata: men hama:ra: sab se accha: puraska:r *(ina:m)* hoga: .

ENGLISH	HIGH HINDI	URDU	BASIC HINDI
famine in that country; and he began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to one of the citizens of the country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.	bar'a: aka:l par'a:, aur wah kan·ga:l ho gaya:, aur wah ja: ke us des' ke niwa:siyon men se ek ke yaha:n rahne laga:, jis ne use apne kheto:n men su:ar cara:ne ke liye bhej diya:.	i:m par'a:, aur wah muh:ta:j ho cala:, aur wah us mulk ke ba:s'indaga:n men se ek ke ha:n ja:ke rahne laga:, jis ne ise apne kheton men su:aren cara:ne ke liye bhej diya:.	bar'a: aka:l par'a:, aur wo kan·ga:l ho gaya:. tab wo us des' ka: rahnewa:la: kisi: a:dmi: ka: ghar par ja: kar rahne laga:, aur wo a:dmi: us ko apna: khet men su:war cara:ne ke liye bhej diya:.

[2] THE PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA, ALLAHABAD, NOVEMBER 1, 1858.

We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of the Indian Princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which	*hindusta:n ke ra:ja:maha:ra:ja:on ka: adhika:r, ma:n aur marya:da: ko ham apni: hi: jaisa: samjhen·ge, aur hama:ri: yahi: a:ka:n·ks'a: hai ki *bha:rati:ya ra:ja:maha:ra:ja: aur hama:ri: waha:n ki: praja: un sukh-samr·ddhi aur sa:ma:jik unnati ko pra:pta karen	ma: ba-daulat wa:li:a:n-e-riya:sat-ha:-e-*hind ke h:aqu:q, wiqa:r aur †izzat ko isi: pa:sda:ri: ka: mustah:iq tasawwur farma:enge, jo ham xud apne h:uqu:q, wiqa:r aur †izzat ke sa:th rawa: farma:te hain; aur ham ca:hte hain ki wa:li:a:n-e-riya:sat-ha:-e-* hind aur hama:ri: ra†a:ya: us xus'-h:a:li: aur a†a-la: tamaddun se bahrawar ho, jo mulk ke andar wali:	ham *bha:rates'wari: maha:ra:ni: *bha:rat ka: ra:ja: maha:ra:ja:on ka: adhika:r (hakk), ma:n aur marya:da: (izzat) ko hama:ra: apna: jaisa: taisa: ma:nega:, aur ham ise bhi: ca:hta: hai ki wo-log aur hama:ra: apna: praja:log us sukh-samriddhi aur sa:ma:jik unnati ko bhog ka-

[1] THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON.

ENGLISH	HIGH HINDI	URDU	BASIC HINDI
A certain man had two sons; and the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of thy substance that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.	Kisi: manus'ya ke do putra the. un me*n* se chut'ke ne pita: se kaha: ki, he pita:, apni: sampatti me*n* se jo mera: am·s' ho so mujhe de di:jiye. tab us ne unko apni: sampatti ba:*n*t' di:.	kisi: *s'axs)* ke do bet'e the. un me*n* se chot'e ne apne *wa:lid* se kaha: ki, *abba: ja:n,* apni: *ja:eda:d* me*n* se jo mera: *h:is)s)a* ho mujhe de di:jiye. *cuna:nce* us ne apna: *as·a:s·a* dono:*n* ko *taqsi:m* kar diya:.	kisi: *a:dmi:* ka: do bet'a: tha:. un me*n* chot'a bet'a: ba:p ko kaha:, ba:ba:, a:p ka: *ma:l-matta:* me*n* (*or* dhan-*daulat* me*n*) jo kuch ham ko milega: wo-sab ham ko de di:jiye. tab ba:p chot'a lar'ka: ka: ans' (*or bakhrā*) us ko de diya:.
And not many days after, the younger son gathered all together and took his journey into a far country; and there he wasted his substance with riotous living.	kuch din bi:te chut'ka: putra sab kuch ikat'-t'ha: kar ke du:r des' cala: gaya:, aur waha:*n* lucpan me*n* din bi:ta:te hue us ne apni: sampatti ur'a di:.	aur *cand* hi: *roz ba†d* chot'a: bet'a sab *ma:l* ikat'-t'ha: kar ke bahut du:r ke *mulk* me*n* cala: gaya:, aur waha:*n* sa:ri: *daulat s'u-had*-pan me*n* ur'a: di:.	thor'a din (or *roj*) bi:t ja:ne ke *ba:d,* chot'a: lar'-ka: apna: sab dhan ikat'-t'ha: kar ke kisi: du:r des' ko cala: gaya:, aur waha:*n* luca:pan me*n* din bi:ta:te apna: sab kuch ur'a: diya:.
And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty	jab wah sab kuch ur'a: cuka:, tab us des' me*n*	jab sab ut'h gaya: to us *mulk* me*n* *-qah:at)-e-†az:)-*	jab wo sab kuch ur'a: cuka:, tab us des' me*n*

ENGLISH	HINDI	URDU	BASIC HINDI
We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a right to alter it or to abolish it. [The language of the Hindi version has leanings towards a Persianised vocabulary as favoured by the Congress: from the 'National Herald', Lucknow, of 26 January 1940.]	ham yah ma:nte hai*n* ki *agar* koi: *sarka:r* janata: ke in *haqqon* ko chi:ne aur us par *zulm* kare, to use is ba:t ka: bhi: adhika:r hai ki wah use *badal* de *ya: xatm* kar de.	hama:ra: yah bhi: *itqa:d* hai ki *agar* koi: *h:aku:mat* kisi: *qaum* ko us ke *h:aqu:q* se *mah:ru:m* karti: hai aur use daba:ti: hai, to us *qaum* ko aisi: *h:aku:mat* ko *badal* dene *ya:* mit'a: dene ka: pu:ra: *h:aqq h:a:s)il hai.*	ham-log yah bhi: ma:nta: hai ki yadi *(agar)* koi: *sarka:r* is adhika:r *(hakk)* ko chi:n leta: hai aur use sata:ta: hai, to us *sarka:r* ko *badal* dene *ya:* mit'a: dene ka: bhi: adhika:r *(hakk)* ham-logo*n* ko hai.

[4] TWO POEMS FROM RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S ENGLISH 'GITANJALI'.

Hindi Translation by Mahāshay Kāshīnāth, Prakāsh Pustakālay, Cawnpore, Second Edition, 1936;
Urdu Translation by Maulānā Abūl Ma'ani Niyāz Fatehpūri, Āzād Book Depot, Delhi, 1916.

No. 35.			[*nambar* ti:s-pa:*n*c]
Where the mind is without fear, and the head is held high;	jaha:*n* citta bhay-s'u:nya hai, jaha:*n* mastak ucca rahta: hai,	jaha:*n* *qalb be-xauf* hai, aur *sar buland* rakha: ja:ta: hai,	jaha:*n* citta nirbhay hai, aur sir jaha:*n* u:*n*ca: rahta: hai;

No. 35.

ENGLISH	HINDI	URDU	BASIC HINDI [*nambar* ti:s-pa *nc*]
Where knowledge is free;	jaha:*n* jn'a:n (gya:n) mukta hai.	jaha:*n* †*ilm a:za:d* hai:,	jaha:*n* gya:n mukta (swa:dhi:n) hai;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;	jaha:*n* jagat (ra:s't'ra) ks'udra ghara:u: *di:wa:r-on* se khan'd'a-khan'd'a nahi:*n* kar diya: gaya: hai,	jaha:*n* *dunya: tang xa:n-gi: di:wa:*ron (ke jha-gr'*on*) me*n* t'u:t' kar *pur-ze-purze* nahi:*n* ho gai: —	jaha:*n* chot'a:-chot'a: ghara:u: *di:wa:ron* se jagat t'ukr'a:-t'ukr'a: nahi:*n* kar diya: gaya: hai;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;	jaha:*n* s'abda satyata: ki: gahra:i: se nikalte hai*n*,	jaha:*n* *alfa:z:)* †*umuq-e-s)ada:qat* se nikalte hai*n*,	jaha:*n* saca:i: ka: gahra:i: se ba:t-sab nikal a:ta: hai;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;	jaha:*n* an-thak purus'-a:rtha apni: bhuja:o*n* ko pu:rn'ata: ki: or bar'ha:-ta: hai,	jaha:n *sa†i:-e-mustaqil* apne *ba:zu: takmi:l-e-ka:r* ki: or phaila:ti: hai,	jaha:*n* an-thak karma-ces't'a: purn'ata: ka: or apna: bhuja:o*n* ko bar'ha:-ta: hai;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;	jaha:*n* tarka ki: nirmal dha:ra: ne apne ma:rga ko nir·ta ru:r'hi *(rasm-riwa:z)* ki: bhaya:nak maru-bhu:-mi me*n* nas't'a nahi:*n* kar diya: hai,	jaha:*n* †*aql* ka: *s)a:f cas'ma fuz)u:l mara:sim* ke *xus'k* reti:le jangal me*n* apna: *ra:sta:* nahi:*n* bhu:-la:;	jaha:*n* bica:r ka: nirmal dha:ra: nis'pra:n' abhya:s *(a:dat)* ka: ba:lu: me*n* apna: sar'ak ko nas't'a nahi:*n* kar diya: hai;

ENGLISH	HINDI	URDU	BASIC HINDI
No. 35			
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action —	jaha:*n* (ke niwa:siyo*n* ka:) man sada: bistr·t honewa:le bica:ro*n* aur karmo*n* ki: or agrasar rahta: hai,—	jaha:*n* tu: *nafs* ko *da:-ʔimu-l-wasa†* *taxayyul wa †amal* ki: *t)araf* le ja:ta: hai —	jaha:*n* sada: ke liye phailnewa:la: cinta: aur karma me*n* man ko tum a:ge bar'ha:e liya: ja:ta: hai—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.	ai mere pita: ! swatantrata: ke aise diwya lok me*n* mera: pya:ra: des' ja:gr·t ho.	ay ma:lik ! usi: *firdaus-e-a:za:di:* me*n* mere *mulk* ko *beda:r* kar.	he mera: pita: ! swa:dhi:nata: ka: aisa: swarga me*n* mera: des' ko ja:gne do.
No. 36.			[*nambar* ti:s-che]
This is my prayer to thee, my lord—strike, strike at the root of penury in my heart.	mere prabhu ! meri: tujh se yah pra:rthana: hai ki mere hr·day ki: daridrata: ki: jar' par tu: kut'ha:ra:gha:t kar.	ay mere *ma:lik*, tujh se meri: *du†a:* yah hai ki — mere *qalb* ki: *bunya:d-e-ifla:s* ko du:r kar de ;	mera: prabhu ! tum se mera: ye binti: hai ki mera: hriday ke bi:c di:nata: ka: jar' par tum ma:ro, tum ma:ro ;
Give me the strength lightly to bear my joys and sorrows.	wah bal de jis se mai*n* sukh aur dukh ko sahaj hi: me*n* sahan kar saku:*n*.	mujhe *quwwat* de, ki apne *a:la:m-o-masarra:t* ko *a:sa:ni:* ke sa:th *bar-da:s't* kar saku:*n* ;	apna: sukho*n* ko aur dukho*n* ko sahaj bha:w se sahne ka: s'akti tum ham ko do ;

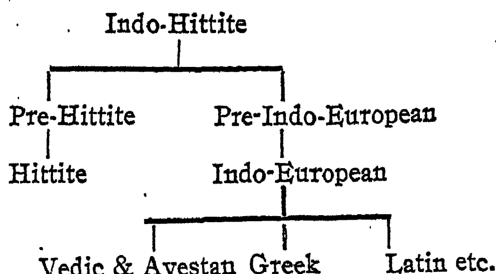
ENGLISH	HINDI	URDU	BASIC HINDI
No. 36 Give me the strength to make my love fruitful in service.	mujhe wah bal de jis se mai*n* apne prem ko sewa: aur paropaka:r dwa:ra: saphal kar saku:*n*.	[mujhe *quwwat* de, ki apni: *muh:abbat* ko *insa:n* ki: *xidmat* karne me*n* *ba:r-a:war* karu:*n* ;]	apna: prem ko sewa: me*n* saphal karne ka: s'akti tum hame*n* do ;
Give me the strength never to disown the poor or bend my knees before insolent might.	mujhe wah bal de jis se mai*n* di:n-dukhiyo*n* ko kabhi: paritya:g na karu:*n*, aur apne ghut'no*n* ko abhima:ni: satta:dha:riyo*n* ke sa:mne kabhi: na jhuka:u:*n*.	mujhe *quwwat* de, ki *g·ari:b* ko kabhi: *naz:)ar-anda:z* na karu:*n*, aur apne *za:nu: gusta:x quwwat* ke sa:mne na jhuka: du:*n* ;	hame*n* aisa: s'akti do ki jis se *gari:bo*n ko (dukhi:o*n* ko) ham kabhi: tya:g na kare, aur abhima:ni: (garwit) prata:p ke sa:mne apna: ghut'no*n* ko ham kabhi: na jhuka:e ;
Give me the strength to raise my mind high above daily trifles.	mujhe wah bal de ki jis se mai*n* apne man ko nitya ki: tuccha ba:to*n* se bahut u:par rakkhu:*n*.	mujhe *quwwat* de, ki apne *nafs* ko *roz-marra* ke *xasa:yis* se *buland* rakhu:*n* ;	nitya ka: chot'a: ba:to*n* se bahut u:par apna: man ko rakhne ka: s'akti hame*n* do ;
And give me the strength to surrender my strength to thy will with love.	mujhe wah bal de jis se mai*n* apni: s'akti ko prem-pu:rwak teri: iccha: ke bas'i:bhu:t kar du:*n*.	aur mujhe *quwwat* de ki apni: *quwwat* ko *muh:abbat* ke sa:th teri: *marz)i*: ke *sipurd* kar du:*n*.	aur hama:ra: s'akti ko prem ke sa:th tumha:ra: iccha: ka: adhi:n kar d[illegible] ka: s'akti hame*n* do.

ADDITIONS & CORRECTIONS

P.11, l. 19: read 'later' for 'latter'.

P. 13, l. 25: The Hittites, and the Hittite Speech

The discovery of Hittite and investigations into its origin and development which are still proceeding have been of far-reaching consequences for Indo-European. It is generally coming to be admitted that Hittite represents an earlier branching off from the primitive language from which Indo-European (as the ultimate source of Vedic and Iranian, Greek, Latin etc.) had its origin. Hittite is thus an elder sister and not a daughter of Indo-European, and both Hittite and Indo-European (as reconstructed from the ancient Indo-European languages like Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Irish, Old Church Slav, Armenian, Tokharian and the rest) come from an anterior stage of Indo-European to which the name *Indo-Hittite* has been given. The relationship may be indicated thus:



Hittite therefore has been instrumental in pushing back the history of the Indo-European languages even beyond the stage of the hypothetical, reconstructed Primitive Indo-European. So far, Primitive Indo-European, as reconstructed, does not require any considerable revision, but some unexpected phonetic and morphological traits are revealed in Indo-Hittite which give a new orientation in tracing the evolution of Indo-European from its earlier stage. Thus it has become clear that

there were in Primitive Indo-Hittite two glottal stops, one with a palatal or frontal colouring ['] and the other with a velar colouring [?], besides a voiceless velar spirant [χ] and a voiced velar spirant [γ], all of which were lost to Primitive Indo-European ([χ γ] became [h] in Hittite); and these sounds, occurring between a short vowel and another consonant, brought about a lengthening of the vowels in Indo-European, these four sounds themselves being lost in this process of lengthening. Indo-European aspiration of consonants is also largely connected with these four 'laryngeals', as they have been named. A good many unexplained matters in Indo-European phonetics and morphology are now becoming clear through the light from Hittite. In this way, the vista presented by Indo European is further extended by the development of 'Hethitology' as a branch of Indo-European linguistics from after 1925. (See Edgar H. Sturtevant, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1933, with references to date; cf also *The Laryngeal Hypothesis and Indo-Hittite, Indo-European Vocalism* by J. Alexandar Kerns and Benjamin Schwartz, "Journal of the American Oriental Society", Vol. 60, 1940, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., pp. 181–192; and E. H. Sturtevant, *Evidence for Voicing in Indo-Hittite* γ, "Language", Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore, Maryland, Vol. 16, no. 2, April–June 1940, pp. 81–87).

P. 14, ll. 16–17. Read *Mi-il-ta-ra* as *Mi-il-ra*, *U-ru-wa-na* as *U-ru-wa-na*. The names as given in the Mitannian version of the treaty of king Mattiwaza (=Vedic Mativāja-?) are as follows — *Mi-it-ra, A-ru-na, In-da-ra* and *Na-sa-at-ti-ya*; in the Hittite version of king Šubbiluliuma, we have *U-ru-wa-na* for *A-ru-na* and *In-dar* for *In-da-ra*. (For references etc., cf. V. Lesný, *Indians in Asia Minor?* in the "Golden Book of Tagore", pp. 290–291, Calcutta, 1931).

Pp. 19 ff. For Primitive Indo-European, the following can be consulted:

Karl Brugmann's *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Second edition in 4 volumes,

Strassburg, 1897-1916. (English translation of the first edition in 4 volumes by Joseph Wright and others).

Karl Brugmann: *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen.* Strassburg, 1903. A shorter edition of the preceding. Available in a French translation, Paris, 1905.

Hermann Hirt: *Indogermanische Grammatik.* 5 volumes, Heidelberg, 1921-29.

Antoine Meillet: *Introduction à l'Étude comparative des Langues indo-européennes.* 5th edition, Paris, 1922.

Joseph Wright: *A Comparative Greek Grammar.* Oxford University Press, 19[illegible].

Carl Darling Buck: *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin.* Chicago University Press, 1933.

Albert Thumb: *Handbuch des Sanskrit,* with notes by H. Hirt. Second edition: Heidelberg, 1930.

A Walde: *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben und bearbeitet von* J. Pokorny: 3 vols: Berlin and Leipzig, 1927-1932.

Albert Carnoy: *Grammaire Élémentaire de la Langue sanscrite, comparée avec celle des Langues indo-européennes.* Louvain and Paris, 1925.

P. 20, l. 22: read *bher-n̥t-ō* for *bher-n̥tō.*

P. 25, l. 28: read *Satəm.*

P. 28, l. 19: Old Church Slave *ber-ą*: a better way would be to transcribe the word with *õ* — *ber-õ.*

Pp. 35 ff.: Austric Influences on the Vocabulary of Indo-Aryan.

For this, see *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India,* a series of papers by Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch, translated from French by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A. D.-ès-L. (Paris), published by the University of Calcutta, 1929. Cf. also S. K. Chatterji, *The Study of New Indo-Aryan,* "Journal of the Department of Letters", Calcutta University, 1937, p. 20.

For Non-Aryan Influences on Indo-Aryan, the valuable

Bibliographie Analytique des Travaux relatifs aux éléments anaryens dans la Civilisation et les Langues de l'Inde by the Polish scholar Constantin Régamey, published in the "Bulletin de l'École française de l'Extrême-Orient," Vol. 34, 1935, pp. 429–566, is indispensable.

P. 36, l. 26: read 'Great River').

P. 38, para 2. Hevesy's views have been summarised for Indian readers by Dr. Biren Bonnerjea in his paper *Traces of Ugrian Occupation of India* in "Indian Culture" for April 1937, (pp. 621–632), Calcutta. A systematic examination of his thesis has not been as yet undertaken by any scholar, and this can be properly done only by one who is competent in both the Kol (Munda) and Austric speeches and the Ural languages. Critical notes on Hevesy's views are to be found in Régamey's work noted above.

P. 42, l. 23: correct to 'Dēva-nāgarī.'

P. 50, l. 1: for 'including', read 'particularly.'

Pp. 69 ff: Sanskrit words in Siamese and in Indonesian. The words and names as given were obtained through personal observation during my visit to Malaya, Java and Bali, and Siam, in 1927, with Rabindranath Tagore. *À propos* Sanskrit words in Siamese, see article on the subject by 'a Student of Hindi from Siam' *(Ek Syāmī Vidyārthī)* in the Calcutta Hindi monthly the *Viśāl-Bhārat* for June 1941, quoted in the *Nāgarī-Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. 46, No. 2, Śrāvaṇ 1998 Saṁvat, pp. 167–178.

P. 83, l. 4: for 'Literature' read 'Litteratur'.

P. 88: l. 6, correct *pāy* to *pā̃y*; l. 9, correct 'with' by 'and'; l. 11, read *ēka-saptati*; l. 19, read *trayōdaśa*; l. 23, put a note of interrogation (?) after 'NIA'; l. 26, put a '—' for the comma after 'MIA.'

P. 93, l. 11: Ralph Lilley Turner: *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*: London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1931.

P. 94, l. 33: for '(' substitute a comma.

Pp. 97 ff. For New Indo-Aryan, the monumental *Linguistic Survey of India* of Sir George Abraham Grierson is indispens-

able. Full bibliographies for the different languages will found in this great work. The following works may however be specially mentioned in connexion the historical and comparative study of the New Indo-Aryan languages.

John Beames: *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*; 3 vols., London, 1872, 1875, 1879.

Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar: *Wilson Philological Lectures* delivered before the University of Bombay in 1877, and published in the "Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society", Vols. XVI and XVII: reprint in book form, Bombay, 1914.

A. Rudolf Hoernle: *A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, with special reference to the Eastern Hindi*: London, 1880.

George Abraham Grierson: *On the Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*: "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft," Vol. XLIX, pp. 393-421 and Vol. L, pp. 1-42.

George Abraham Grierson: *On Certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*: "Kuhn's Zeitschrift," Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 473–491.

George Abraham Grierson: *On the Radical and Participial Tenses of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*: "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal", Vol. LXIV, 1895, pp. 352-375.

E. Trumpp: *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London-Leipzig, 1872.

John T. Platts: *A Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language*, London, 1874.

C. J. Lyall: *Sketch of the Hindustani Language*, Edinburgh, 1880.

S. H. Kellogg: *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*, 2nd edition, London, 1893.

L. P. Tessitori: *Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani*, in the "Indian Antiquary", Bombay, 1914–16.

Jules Bloch: *La Formation de la Langue marathe*, Paris, 1919.

R. L. Turner: *The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marathi*, "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland", 1916.

R. L. Turner: *Gujarati Phonology*, ibid., 1921.

R. L. Turner: *Sindhi Recursives*, "Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies", London, Vol. III, pp. 301–315.

John Sampson: *The Dialect of the Gipsies of Wales*: Oxford University Press, 1926.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji: *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. 2 Vols., Calcutta University Press, 1926.

Banarsi Das Jain: *A Phonology of Panjabi (with a Ludhiani Phonetic Reader)*. University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1934.

Baburam Saksena: *The Evolution of Awadhi*, Allahabad, 1938.

Wilhelm Geiger: *A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Colombo, 1938. (Prof. Geiger's earlier work in German appeared in 1900 from Strassburg.)

Bani Kanta Kakati: *Assamese, its Formation and Development*, Gauhati, 1941.

Mention should also be made of Grierson's *Maithili Grammar* (2nd edition, Calcutta, 1910), Uday Narayan Tiwari's *Dialect of Bhojapuri* ("Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society," Patna, Vols. XX, XXI), and Dhirendra Varma's *La Langue Braj* (Paris, 1935).

George Abraham Grierson: *A Manual of the Kashmiri Language*, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1911; and *The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India*, London, 1906. (For the Dardic Languages: the more recent work of Georg Morgenstierne of Oslo on these is to be noted.)

So far as Etymology of NIA. is concerned, the most up-to-date work is R. L. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*, noted above

(under p. 93). J. T. Platts's *Hindustani Dictionary (Urdu, Classical Hindi and English)*, London, 1884, is old-fashioned but very valuable still. S. M. Katre's *Comparative Glossary of Konkani*, begun in the pages of the defunct "Calcutta Oriental Journal," Vol. II, no. 1 (1934) has not been wholly published as yet. Turner's Comparative Dictionary of NIA. in connexion with the Linguistic Survey of India is eagerly awaited for.

P. 102, l. 6: read 'Jagannātha-dāsa.'

P. 104 ff. The Phonetics of New Indo-Aryan.

The following studies of individual languages and dialects may be mentioned in this connexion:

T. Grahame Bailey: *A Panjabi Phonetic Reader*. University of London Press, 1914.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji: *Bengali Phonetics*. "Modern Review," Calcutta, January 1918.

H. S. Perera and Daniel Jones: *A Colloquial Sinhalese Reader*. Manchester University Press, 1919.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji: *A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics*. International Phonetic Association, London, 1921.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji: *A Bengali Phonetic Reader*. University of London Press, 1928.

Banarsi Das Jain: *A Ludhiani Phonetic Reader*. University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1934.

Baburam Saksena: *Evolution of Awadhi*, for Awadhi Phonetics and Phonetic Texts. Allahabad, 1938.

S. G. Mohiuddin Qadri: *Hindustani Phonetics*. (Hindustani of Hyderabad-Deccan). Paris, 1930.

Gopal Haldar: *A Brief Phonetic Sketch of the Noakhali Dialect of South-Eastern Bengali*. Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XIX, 1929, pp. 1–40.

Gopal Haldar: *A Skeleton Grammar of the Noakhali Dialect of Bengali*. Ibid, Vol. XXIII, 1933, pp. 1–38.

Sumitra Mangesh Katre: *Konkani Phonetics*. Ibid., Vol. XXVII, Calcutta, 1935, pp. 1–19.

Siddheshwar Varma: *The Phonetics of Lahnda*. "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal," 1936, Letters, Vol. II, pp. 47–118.

Subhadra Jha: *Maithil Phonetics.* "Indian Linguistics," Calcutta University, Vol. VIII, Part I, 1940–41, pp. 39–70.

Krishnapada Goswami: *Linguistic Notes on Chittagong Bengali,* Ibid, Vol. VIII, Parts 2 & 3, pp. 111–162.

Pp. 105 ff. Aspirates and Recursives.

The aspirated stops *kh gh, ch jh, ṭh ḍh, th dh, ph bh* were felt by the Ancient Indian phoneticians as compounded sounds made up of the stop (*sparśa*) element accompanied by the emission of breath (*ūṣman, prāṇa*): hence they were called *mahāprāṇa* i.e. 'great breath' or 'much breath' sounds. The Greek aspirated stops χ, θ, φ were analysed similarly into a stop+an aspirate (a 'hard breathing' *h*), by the Romans when the Greek letters for these sounds had to be written in the Roman Alphabet: χ = *ch* (i.e. *kh*), θ = *th*, and φ = *ph*. Even in adapting the Perso-Arabic script for Hindi in India, the aspirates were indicated by the letters for the stops *plus* ه = *h*: کھ , گھ ; چھ , جھ ; ٹھ , ڈھ ; تھ , دھ ; پھ , بھ ; Europeans (Portuguese, English) did the same thing.

Mr. Amalesh Chandra Sen however took full tracings of articulations of the aspirated and non-aspirated stops in Bengali, and came to the conclusion that 'there are certain fundamental differences in the mechanism of articulation of the aspirated and non-aspirated occlusives. These differences tend to become reduced, but they persist under various conditions of utterance. This is proposed by the author as valid evidence for the statement that the aspirated occlusives are distinct phonemes, and may be considered as single sounds.' In both the manner of production and the resultant acoustic effect, Mr. Sen considers simple occlusives and what are known as their aspirated forms to be distinct sounds. (*Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Phonetic Sciences,* London, 1925, published from Cambridge, 1936, pp. 184-193). But the difference which certainly exists and has never been denied, is based on a higher buccal pressure and on 'heavier syllabic strokes from the chest muscles' in the case of the aspirates. For ordinary practical purposes, we can continue to regard the

aspirated stops as stops with aspiration (which is not denied by Mr. Sen), whatever might be the nature of the inner gests or movements of the vocal organs in producing this: and the differences after all are not so fundamental.

Dr. Parmanand Bahl has discussed the question of the Recursives in two articles in the "Panjab Oriental Research", Vol. I, no. 1, January 1941 (edited by Des Raj Khushtar, Mercantile Press, Lahore)—*A Critique on Dr. S. K. Chatterji's article* Recursives in New Indo-Aryan, pp. 19-23, and *Injective Consonants in Western Panjabi Languages,* pp. 32–47. Dr. Bahl thinks that our East Bengali equivalents for the voiced aspirates are distinct from similar sounds in Gujarati and Sindhi, and he criticises my use of the term *Recursives* to indicate the former; and he gives his own description of the *Injectives.* Incidentally he considers that there is aspiration in the Panjabi (Eastern Panjabi) transformation of the voiced aspirates in initial positions. Now, as to the last point, I find my own acoustic impression bear out what other workers in Panjabi Phonetics have found out for us (T. Grahame Bailey, in his *Panjabi Phonetic Reader,* London, 1914; E. Šrámek, *Panjabi Phonetics: Experimental Study of the Amritsar Dialect* in the 'Uruṣvati Journal,' Vol. II, 1931; Banarsi Das Jain, in *Phonology of Panjabi* and *Ludhiani Phonetic Reader;* and Siddheshwar Varma, in a private communication noted at foot of p. 108). The term *Recursive* has been employed by Prof. Daniel Jones, N. Trubetzkoy, and R. L. Turner, among others; and their description of a recursive appeared to me to fit well, both acoustically and genetically, with the East Bengali sounds (though my friend Mr. Amalesh Chandra Sen, who is an Experimentalist in Phonetics, does not agree that there is an intake of breath in these sounds, although there is considerable lowering of the glottis). And I am still convinced that my East Bengali 'Recursives' are the same (at least acoustically, as non-Bengali listeners have agreed with me) as the similar sounds of Gujarati, Rajasthani, dialectal Panjabi, dialectal Hindi (e.g. Dakni), and Sindhi.

P. 121, ll. 5, 6: after *kartavya-*, add: > *sts.* MIA. **kari-tavya-*, *kariabba-*, *kariavva-*.

P. 132, heading: read HINDI for NEW INDO-ARYAN.

P. 181, l. 26: the *Tuḥfatu-l-Hind*. This is a most interesting work in Persian composed by Mīrzā Khān the son of Fakh-ru-d Dīn Muhammad about 1675 A.D. which gives an account of the Braj-bhākhā speech (its script and orthography, its grammar, its metre, the rhetoric of Braj poetry—1st three books), and discusses Hindu Erotics and Hindu Music, as well as *Sāmudrika* (Palmistry and Phrenology), with a Hindi-Persian dictionary as an appendix. The sections on the Braj-bhākhā language have a bearing on New Indo-Aryan Linguistics, as being the oldest known grammar of a New Indo-Aryan speech, and this portion of the book has been edited and translated into English by the late Prof. M. Ziauddin (Visva-bharati, Santiniketan, Bengal, 1935), with a Foreword by Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

P. 238, l. 17: the Devanagari letters for the cerebral *ḷ*, *ḷh* of Vedic and other Indo-Aryan are to be properly corrected.

P. 239, l. 23: correct [z′] to [z’].